THE DISCOVERIE OF THE LARGE, RICH AND BEVVTIFVL EMPIRE OF GVIANA, WITH a relation of the great and Golden Citie *of* Manoa *(which the Spanyards call* El *Dorado)* And the Prouinces of *Emeria*, *Arromaia*, *Amapaia*, and other Countries, with their riuers, adioyning.

Performed in the yeare 1595. by Sir *W. Ralegh* Knight, Captaine of her *Maesties Guard*, Lo. *Warden* of the Stannaries, and her Highnesse Lieutenant generall of the Countie of Cornewall.

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1596.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE MY *singular good Lord and kinsman, Charles Howard*, knight of the Garter, *Barron, and Counceller, and of the Admiralls of England the most renowmed*: And to the Right Honorable Sr *Robert Cecyll* Knight, Councellor in her Highnes priuie Councels.

FOR your Honors many Honorable and friendlie partes, I haue hitherto only returned promises, and nowe for answere of both your aduentures, I haue sent you a bundle of papers which I haue deuided betwene your Lo. & Sr Robert Cecyl *in these two respectes chiefly: First for that it is reason, that wastful factors, when they haue consumed such stockes as they had in trust, doe yeeld some cullor for the same in their account, secondly for that* I *am assured, that whatsoeuer shalbe done, or written by me, shall neede*

a double protection and defence. The triall that I had of both your loues, when I was left of all, but of malice and reuenge, makes me still presume that you wil be pleased (knowing what little power I had to performe ought, and the great aduantage of for warned enemies) to answeare that out of knowledge, which others shall but obiect out of malice. In my more happy times as I did especially honour you both, so I found that your loues sought me out in the darkest shadow of aduersitie, and the same affection which accompanied my better fortune, sored not away from me in my manie miseries: all which though I connot requite, yet I shal euer acknowledge: and the great debt which I haue no power to pay, I can doe no more for a time but confesse to be due. It is true that as my errors were great, so they haue yeelded verie grieuous effects, and if ought might haue beene deserued in fomer times to haue counterpoysed anie part of offences, the frute thereof (as it seemeth) was long before fallen from the tree, and the dead stocke onely remained. I did therefore euen in the winter of my life, vndertake these trauels, fitter for bodies lesse blasted with mis-fortunes, for men of greater abilitie, and for mindes of better incouragement, that thereby if it were possible I might recouer but the moderation of excesse, and the least tast of the greatest

greateſt plentie formerly poſſeſſed. If I had knowen other way to win, if I had imagined how greater aduentures might haue regained, if I coulde conceiue what farther meanes I might yet vſe, but euen to appeaſe ſo powerefull diſpleaſure, I would not doubt but for one yeare more to hold faſt my ſoule in my teeth, til it were performed. Of that little remaine I had, I haue waſted in effect all herein, I haue vndergone many conſtructions, I haue beene accompanyed with many ſorrows, with labor, hunger, heat, ſickneſſe, & peril: It appeareth notwithſtand that I made no other braſuado of going to the ſea, then was ment, and that I was neither hidden in cornwell, or elſe where, as was ſuppoſed. They haue groſly belied me, that foreiudged that I would rather become a ſeruant to the Spaniſh king, thē return, & the reſt were much miſtaken, who woulde haue perſwaded, that I was too eaſeful & ſenſuall to vndertake a iorney of ſo great trauel. But, if what I haue done receiue the gratious conſtruction of a painful pilgrimage, and purchaſe the leaſt remiſſion, I ſhal thinke all too little, and that there were wanting to the reſt, many miſeries: But if both the times paſt, the preſent, and what may be in the future, doe all by one graine of gall continue in an eternall diſtaſt, I doe not then knowe whether I ſhould bewaile my ſelfe either for my too much trauel

and expence, or condemne my ſelfe for doing leſſe then that, which can deſerue nothing. From my ſelfe I haue deſerued no thankes, for I am returned a begger, and withered, but that I might haue bettred my poore eſtate, it ſhall appeare by the following diſcourſe, if I had not onely reſpected her Maieſties future Honor, and riches. It became not the former fortune in which I once liued, to goe iourneys of picorie, and it had ſorted ill with the offices of Honor, which by her maieſties grace, I hold this day in England, to run from Cape to Cape, & from place to place, for the pillage of ordinarie prizes. Many yeares ſince, I had knowledge by relatiõ, of that mighty, rich, and beawtifull Empier of Guiana, *and of that great and Golden Citie, which the ſpanyards call* El Dorado, *and the naturals* Manoa, *which Citie was conquered, reedified, and inlarged by a gonger ſonne of* Guainacapa *Emperor of* Peru, *at ſuch time as* Franciſco Pazaro *and others conquered the ſaide Empire, from his two elder brethren* Gualcar, *and* Atabalipa, *both then contending for the ſame, the one being fauoured by the* Oreiones *of* Cuzco, *the other by the people of* Caximalca. *I ſent my ſeruant* Iacob VVhiddon *the yeer before, to get knowledge of the paſſages, and I had ſome light from Captaine* Parker *ſometime my ſeruant, and nowe attending*

on

on your Lo. that such a place there was to the southward of the great bay of Charuas, *or* Guanipa: *but I found that it was* 600. *miles farther off, then they supposed, and manie other impediments to them vnknowne and vnheard. After I had displanted* Don Anthonio de Berreo, *who was vpon the same enterprize, leauing my ships at* Trinedado, *at the port called* Curiapan, *I wandred* 400. *miles, into the said countrey by land and riuer: the particulers I will leaue to the following discourse. The countrey hath more quantity of Gold by manifolde, then the best partes of the* Indies, *or* Peru: *All the most of the kings of the borders are already become her Maiesties vassals: & seeme to desire nothing more then her Maiesties protection and the returne of the English nation. It hath another grounde and assurance of riches & glory, then the voiages of the west* Indies, *& an easier way to inuade the best parts ther of, then by the common course. The king of* Spaine *is not so impouerished by taking* 3 *or* 4 *port townes in* America *as we suppose, neither are the riches of* Peru, or Nueua Espania *so left by the sea side, as it can be easily washt away, with a great flood, or springtide, or left drie vpon the sandes on a lowe ebbe. The port townes are few and poore in respect of the rest within the land, and are of little defence, and are onely rich*

When the fleets are to receiue the treaſure for ſpaine: And we might thinke the ſpanyards verie ſimple, haueing ſo many horſes and ſlaues, that if they could not vpon two daies warning, carrie all the Golde they haue into the land, and farre enough from the reach of our footmen, eſpeciallie the Indies *being (as it is for the moſt part) ſo mountainous, ſo full of woods, riuers, and mariſhes. In the port townes of the prouince of* Venſuello, *as* Cumana, Coro, *and* S. Iago (*whereof* Coro *and* S. Iago *were taken by Captaine* Preſton *and* Cumana *and* S. Ioſephus *by vs*) *we found not the value of one riall of plate in either: but the Cities of* Barquaſimeta, Valentia, S. Sebaſtian, Cororo, S. Lucia, Alleguna, Marecabo, *and* Truxillo, *are not ſo eaſely inuaded: neither doth the burning of thoſe on the coaſt impoueriſh the king of ſpayne anie one Ducket, and if we ſacke the riuer of* Hache, S. Marta, *and* Cartagena, *which are the portes of* Nueuo reyno *and* Popayan. *There are beſides within the land which are indeede rich and populus, the townes and Cities of* Merida, Lagrita, S. Chriſtofero, *the great Cities of* Pampelone, S. Fede Bogota, Tunia *and* Mozo *where the* Eſmeralds *are founde, the townes and Cities of* Mo requito, velis, la villa de Leua, Palma, vnda, Anguſtura, *the greate Citie*

of

of Timana, Tocaima, S. Aguila, Paſto, Iuago, the great citie of Popaian it ſelfe, Los Remedios, and the reſt. If we take the ports and villages within the bay Vraba in the kingdom or riuers of Dariena, and Caribana, the cities and townes of S. Iuan de Roydas, of Caſſaris, of Antiocha, Carramanta, Cali, and Auſerma haue gold enough to pay the King part, and are not eaſily inuaded by the way of the Ocean, or if Nombre de Dios and Panama be taken in the prouince of Caſtillo de oro, and the villages vpon the riuers of Cenu and Chagre. peru hath beſides thoſe and beſides the magnificent cities of Quito and Lima ſo manie Ilands, ports, Cities, and mines, as if I ſhould name thē with the reſt it would ſeeme incredible to the reader: of all which becauſe I haue writen a particular treatiſe of the weſt Indies, I will omit their repetition at this time, ſeing that in the ſaide treatiſe I haue anatomized the reſt of the ſea townes as well of Nicaragna, Iucata, Nueua Eſpanna, and the Ilands, as thoſe of the Inland, and by what meanes thy may be beſte inuaded, as farre as any meane Iudgement can comprehend. But I hope it ſhall appeare that there is a way found to anſwere euerie mans longing, a better Indies for her maieſtie then the King of Spaine hath any, which if it ſhall pleaſe her highnes to vndertake,

I shall most willingly end the rest of my daies in following the same: If it be left to the spoyle and sackage of common persons, if the loue and seruice of so many nations be despised, so great riches, and so mighty an Empyre refused, I hope her Maiesty will yet take my humble desire and my labour therein in gracious part, which if it had not beene in respect of her highnes future honor & riches, I could haue laid hãds and ransomed many of the kings & Calliqui of the Country, & haue had a reasonable proportion of gold for their redemption: But I haue chosen rather to beare the burthen of pouertie, then reproch, & rather to endure a second trauel & the chaunces therof, thẽ to haue defaced an enterprise of so great assurance, vntill I knew whether it pleased God to put a disposition in her princely and royall heart eyther to follow or foreslow the same: I wil therefore leaue it to his ordinance that hath onely power in al thinges, and do humbly pray that your honors wil excuse such errors, as without the defence of art, ouerrun in euery part, the following discourse, in which I haue neither studied phrase, forme, nor fashion, and that you will be pleased to esteeme me as your owne (though ouer dearly bought) and I shall euer remaine ready to doe you all honour and seruice.

W: R.

BEcauſe there haue been diuers opinions conceiued of the gold oare brought from *Guiana*, and for that an Alderman of London and an officer of her maieſties minte, hath giuen out that the ſame is of no price, I haue thought good by the addition of theſe lines to giue anſwere as wel to the ſaid malicious ſlaunder, as to other obiectiõs.

It is true that while we abode at the Iland of *Trinedado*, I was informed by an Iudian, that not farre from the Port, where we ancored, there were founde certaine minerall ſtones which they eſteemed to be gold, and were thereunto perſwaded the rather for that they had ſeen both Engliſh, and French men gather, and imbarque ſome quantities thereof: vppon this likly-hoode I ſent 40. men & gaue order that each one ſhould bring a ſtone of that myne, to make triall of the goodneſſe, which being performed, I aſſured them at their returne that the ſame was *Marcaſite*, and of no riches or value: Notwithſtanding diuers truſting more to their owne ſence, then to my opinion. kept of the ſaide *Marcaſite*, and haue tried thereof, ſince my returne, in diuers places. In *Guiana* it ſelfe I neuer ſawe *Marcaſite*, but all the rocks, mountaines, all ſtones in the plaines, in woodes, and by the riuers ſide are in effect thorow ſhining, and appeare marueylous rich, which being tried to be no *Marcaſite*, are the trew ſignes of rich minerals, but are no other then *El madre del oro* (as the Spanyards terme them) which is the mother of golde, or as it is ſaide by others the ſcum of Gold: of diuers ſortes of theſe manie of my companie brought alſo into England, euery one taking the fayreſt for the beſt, which is not generall, For mine owne parte, I did not countermand any mans deſire, or opinion, & I could haue a

forded them little if I ſhoulde haue denied them the pleaſing of their owne fancies therein: But I was reſolued that golde muſt be found either in graines ſeparate frō the ſtone (as it is in moſt of the riuers in *Guiana*) or elſe in a kinde of hard ſtone, which we call the white *Sparre*, of which I ſaw diuers hils, & in ſundrie places, but had neither time, nor men, nor inſtruments fit to labour. Neere vnto one of the riuers I founde of the ſaide white Sparre or flint a very great ledge or banke, which I endeuored to breake by all the meanes I coulde, becauſe there appeared on the out ſide ſome ſmall graines of gold, but finding no meane to worke the ſame vpon the vpper part, ſeeking the ſides and circuit of the ſayd rock, I founde a cliſt in the ſame from whence with daggers, and with the head of an axe, we gotte out ſome ſmall quantitie therof, of which kinde of white ſtone (wherein golde in gendered) we ſawe diuers hils and rocks in euery part of *Guiana*, wherein we trauelled. Of this there hath beene made many trialls, and in London, it was firſt aſſaide by Maſter *Weſtwood* a refiner dwelling in wood-ſtreet, and it helde after the rate of 12000 or 13000 pounds a tunne. Another ſort was afterward tried by Maſter *Bulmar* and Maſter *Dimocke* aſſay maſter, & it held after the rate of 23000 poundes a tunne. There was ſome of it againe tried by Maſter *Palmer* comptrollor of the minte, and Maſter *Dimocke* in gold ſmiths hall, and it helde after 26900 pounds a tun. There was alſo at the ſame time, and by the ſame perſons a triall made of the duſt of the ſaid mine which held 8. pound 6. ounces weight of gold, in the hundred: there was likwiſe at the ſame time a triall made of an Image of Copper made in *Guiana*, which helde a third part gold, beſides diuers trialls made in the countrey, and by others in London. But becauſe there came of ill with the good; and belike the ſaid Alderman was not preſented with the beſt, it hath pleaſed him therefore to ſcand all all the reſt, and to deface the enterprize as much as in him lyeth. It hath alſo been concluded by diuers, that if there had been anie ſuch oare in *Guiana*, and the ſame diſcouered, that

I woulde haue brought home a greater quantitie thereof: firſt I was not bounde to ſatiſfie anie man of the quantitie, but ſuch onely as aduenured, if any ſtore had beene returned thereof: but it is verie true that had all their mountaines beene of maſſie Golde, is was impoſſible for vs to haue made anie longer ſtay to haue wrought the ſame: and whoſoeuer hath ſeene with what ſtrength of ſtone, the beſt golde oare is inuironed, he will not thinke it eaſie to be had out in heapes, and eſpecially by vs who had neither men, inſtrumentes, nor time (as it is ſaide before) to performe the ſame. There were on this diſcouerie, no leſſe then 100 perſonnes, who can all witneſſe, that when we paſt any braunch of the riuer to vewe the land within, and ſtaied from our boates but ſix houres, wee were driuen to wade to the eyes, at our returne: and if we attempted the ſame the day following, it was impoſſible either to forde it, or to ſwim it, both by reaſon of the ſwiftneſſe, and alſo for that the borders were ſo preſtred with faſt woods, as neither bote nor man could finde place, either to land or to imbarque: for in June, July, Auguſt and ſeptember, it is impoſſible to nauigate any of thoſe riuers, for ſuch is the furie of the *Current*, and there are ſo many trees and woods ouerflowne, as if anie boate but touch vppon any tree or ſtake, it is impoſſible to ſaue anie one perſon therein: and ere we departed the land it ran with that ſwiftnes, as we draue downe moſt commonly againſt the wind, little leſſe then one hundred miles a day. Beſides our veſſels were no other then wherries, one little barge, a ſmall cockboate, and a bad Galiota, which wee framed in haſt for that purpoſe at *Trinedado*, and thoſe little boates had nyne or ten men apeece, with all their victuals, and armes. It is further true, that we were about 400. miles from our ſhips, and had bene a moneth from them, which alſo we left weakly mande in an open roade, and had promiſed our return in 15 daies. Others haue deuiſed that the ſame oare was had from barbery, and that we caried it with vs into *Guiana*: ſurely

the ſingularitie of that deuice, Ido not well comprehend, for mine owne part, I am not ſo much in loue with theſe long voiages, as to deuiſe, thereby to cozen my ſelfe, to lie hard, to fare worſe, to be ſubiected to perils, to diſeaſes, to ill ſauours, to be parched and withered, and withall to ſuſtaine the care and labour of ſuch an enterprize, excepte the ſame had more cõfort, then the fetching of *Marcaſite* in *Guiana*, or bying of gold oar in Barbery. But I hope the better ſort will iudge me by themſelues, & that the way of deceipt, is not the way of honor or good opiniõ: I haue herein conſumed much time, and, many crowns, & I had no other reſpect or deſire thẽ to ſerue her maieſty & my Country thereby. *If* the ſpaniſh natiõ had beene of like beleefe to theſe detractors, we ſhould little haue feared or doubted their attempts, where with we now are daily threatned. But if we now conſider of the actiõs both of *Charls* the fiſt, who had the Maydenhead of *Peru* & the abundant treaſures of *Atabalipa*, together with the affaires of the Spaniſh king now liuing, what territories he hath purchaſed, what he hath added to the actes of his predeceſſors, how many kingdoms he hath indaungered, how many armies, garriſons, & nauies, he hath & doth maintaine, the greate loſſes which he hath repaired, as in 88 aboue 100 ſayle of great ſhippes with their attillery, and that no yere is leſſe vnfortunate but that many veſſels, treaſures, and people are deuoured, & yet notwithſtanding he beginneth againe like a ſtorme to threaten ſhipwracke to vs all, we ſhall finde that theſe abilities riſe not from the trades of ſackes, and Ciuil Orenges, nor frõ ought elſe that either Spaine, Portugal, or any of his other prouinces produce: It is his Indian Golde that indaungereth and diſturbeth all the nations of Europe, it purchaſeth intelligence, creepeth into Councels, and ſetteth bound loyalty at libertie, in the greateſt Monarchies of Europe. If the ſpaniſh king can keepe vs from forraine enterprizes, and from the impeachment of his trades, eyther by offer of inuaſion, or by beſeiging vs in Britayne, Ireland, or elſe where, he hath then brought the worke of our perill in greate forwardnes,

wardnes. Thoſe princes which abound in treaſure haue great aduantages ouer the reſt, if they once conſtraine them to a defenſiue warre, where they are driuen once a yeare or oftner to caſt lots for their own garments, & from ſuch ſhal al trades, & entercourſe, be taken away to the general loſſe & impouerifhmēt of the kingdom, & cōmon weale ſo reduced: beſides when men are conſtrained to fight, it hath not the ſame hope as whē they are preſt & incouraged by the deſire of ſpoyle and riches. Farther it is to bē doubted how thoſe that in time of victorie ſeem to affect their neighbour natiōs, wil remaine after the firſt view of miſfortunes, or ill ſucceſſe; to truſt alſo to the doubtfulnes of a battel, is but a feareful and vncertaine aduenture, ſeeing therein fortune is as likely to preuaile, as vertue. It ſhall not be neceſſary to alleage all that might be ſaid, and therfore I wil thus conclude, that whatſoeuer kingdom ſhalbe inforced to defend it ſelfe, may be compared to a body daungerouſlie diſeaſed, which for a ſeaſon may be preſerued with vulgar medicines, but in a ſhort time, and by little and little, the ſame muſt needes fall to the ground, and be diſſolued. I haue therefore laboured al my life, both according to my ſmall power, & perſwaſiō, to aduance al thoſe attempts, that might eyther promiſe return of profit to our ſelues, or at laſt be a let & impeachment to the quiet courſe, & plentiful trades of the Spaniſh nation, who in my weake iudgment by ſuch a warre were as eaſily indaungered and brought from his powerfulnes, as any prince in Europe, if it be conſidered from how many kingdoms and nations his reuenews are gathered, and thoſe ſo weake in their owne beings, and ſo farre ſeuered from mutuall ſuccor. But becauſe ſuch a preparation and reſolution is not to be hoped for in haſt, and that the time which our enimies embrace, can not be had againe to aduantage, I will hope that theſe prouinces, and that Empyre now by me diſcouered ſhall ſuffice to inable her Maieſty, and the whole kingdome, with no leſſe quantities of treaſure, then the king of Spayne hath in all the Indies, eaſt and weſt, which he poſſeſſeth, which if the ſame be conſidered and followed, ere the Spanyards, enforce the ſame, &

if her Maiesty will vndertake it, I wilbe contented to lose her highnes saueur and good opinion for euer, and my life withal, if the same be not found rather to exceede, then to equal what soeuer is in this discourse promised or declared. I will nowe referre the reader to the following discourse with the hope that the perilous and chargeable labors and indeuours of such as thereby seeke the profit and honor of her Maiesty, and the English nation, shall by men of quallitie and vertue receiue such construction, and good acceptance, as themselues would looke to be rewarded withall in the like.

W : R.

THE DISCOVERIE OF GVIANA.

ON Thurſday the 6. of Februarie in the yeare 1595. we departed *England*, and the ſunday following had ſight of the North cape of *Spayne*, the winde for the moſt part continuing proſperous: wee paſſed in ſight of the *Burlings*, and the rocke and ſo onwardes for the *Canaries*, and fell with *Fuerte ventura* the 17. of the ſame moneth, where we ſpent two or three daies, and relieued our companies with ſome freſh meate. From thence we coaſted by the *Gran Canaria*, and ſo to *Tenerife*, and ſtaied there for the Lyons whelp your Lordſhips ſhip, and for captaine *Amys Preſton* and the reſt: But when after 7. or 8 daies we found them not, wee departed and directed our courſe for *Trinedado* with mine owne ſhippe, and a ſmall barke of Captaine *Croſſes* onely (for we had before loſt ſight of a ſmal Gallego on the coaſt of *Spayne*, which came with vs from *Plymmouth:*) wee arriued at *Trinedado* the 22. of March, caſting ancour at point *Curiapan*, vvhich the Spaniards call *punto de Gallo*, which is ſituate in 8. degrees or there abouts: we abode there 4. or 5. daies, and in all that time we came not to the

ſpeach of any Indian or Spaniard: on the coaſt we ſaw a fire, as we ſailed from the point *Carao* towards *Curiapan*, but for feare of the Spanyards, none durſt come to ſpeake with vs. I my ſelfe coaſted it in my barge cloſe abord the ſhore and landed in euery Coue, the better to know the Iland, while the ſhips kept the chanell. From *Curiapan* after a fewe daies we turned vp Northeaſt to recouer that place which the Spaniards cal *Puerto de los Hiſpanioles*, and the inhabitants *Conquerabia*, and as before (reuictualing my barge) I left the ſhippes and kept by the ſhore, the better to come to ſpeach with ſome of the inhabitantes, and alſo to vnderſtand the riuers, watring places and portes of the Iland which (as it is rudely done) my purpoſe is to ſend your Lordſhip after a fewe daies. From *Curiapan* I came to a port & ſeat of Indians called *Parico* where we founde a freſh-water riuer, but ſawe no people. From thence I rowed to another porte, called by the naturals *Piche*, and by the Spaniardes *Tierra de Brea*: In the way betweene both were diuers little brooks of freſh water & one ſalt riuer that had ſtore of oiſters vpon the branches of the trees, & were very ſalt & wel taſted. Al their oiſters grow vpon thoſe boughs and ſpraies, and not on the grounde: the like is commonly ſeene in the Weſt Indies and elſe where. This tree is deſcribed by *Andrewe Theuet* in his french *Antartique*, and the forme figured in the booke as a plante verye ſtraunge, and by *Plinie* in his XII. booke of his naturall hiſtorie. But in this Ilande, as alſo in *Guiana* there are verie manie of them.

At this point called *Tierra de Brea* or *Piche* there is that

that abundance of ſtone pich, that all the ſhips of the world may be therewith loden from thence, and wee made triall of it in trimming our ſhips to be moſt excellent good, and melteth not with the ſunne as the pitch of *Norway*, and therefore for ſhips trading the ſouth partes very profitable. From thence we went to the mountaine foote called *Annaperima*, and ſo paſing the riuer *Carone* on which the Spaniſh Citie was ſeated, we met with our ſhips at *puerto de los Hiſpanioles* or *Conquerabia*.

This Iland of *Trinedado* hath the forme of a ſheep-hooke, and is but narrow, the north part is very mounteynous, the ſoile is very excellent and wil beare ſuger, ginger, or any other commodity that the Indies yeeld. It hath ſtore of deare, wild porks, fruits, fiſh & fowle: It hath alſo for breade ſufficient *Mais*, *Caſſani*, and of thoſe roots and fruits which are common euerywhere in the weſt *Indies*. It hath diuers beaſts, which the *Indies* haue not: the ſpainards cõfeſſed that they found grains of gold in ſome of the riuers, but they hauing a purpoſe to enter *Guiana* (the *Magazin* of all rich metetls) cared not to ſpend time in the ſearch therof any farther. This Iland is called by the people thereof *Cairi*, and in it are diuers nations: thoſe about *Parico* are called *Iaio*, thoſe at *Punto Carao* are of the *Arwacas*, and betweene *Carao* and *Curiadan* they are called *Saluaios*, betweene *Carao* and *punto Gallera* are the *Nepoios*, and thoſe about the Spaniſh Citie tearme themſelues *Carinepagotos*: Of the reſt of the nations, and of other portes and riuers I leaue to ſpeake heere, beeing impertinent to my purpoſe, and meane to deſcribe them as they are ſituate in the particular plot and deſcription

of the Iland, three partes whereof I coaſted with my barge, that I might the better deſcribe it.

Meeting with the ſhipps at *puerto de los Hiſpanioles*, we founde at the landing place a company of Spanyards who kept a gard at the deſcente, and they offering a ſigne of peace I ſent Captaine *Whiddon* to ſpeake with them, whome afterward to my great griefe I left buried in the ſaide Iland after my returne from *Guiana*, beeing a man moſt honeſt and valiant. The Spanyards ſemed to be deſirous to trade with vs, and to enter into tearms of peace, more for doubt of their own ſtrength then for ought elſe, and in the ende vpon pledge, ſom of them came abord: the ſame euening there ſtale alſo abord vs in a ſmall *Canoa* two Indians, the one of them being a *Caſique* or Lord of the people called *Cantyman*, who had the yeare before beene with Captaine *Whiddon*, and was of his acquaintance. By this *Cantyman*, wee vnderſtood what ſtrength the Spanyardes had, how farre it was to their Citie, and of *Don Anthonio de Berreo* the gouernour, who was ſaid to be ſlaine in his ſecond attempt of *Guiana*, but was not.

While we remained at *puerto de los Hiſpanioles* ſome Spanyardes came abord vs to buy lynnen of the company, and ſuch other thinges as they wanted, and alſo to view our ſhippes and company, all which I entertained kindly and feaſted after our manner: by meanes whereof I learned of one and another as much of the eſtate of *Guiana* as I could, or as they knew, for thoſe poore ſouldiers hauing beene many yeares without wine, a fewe draughtes made them merie, in which mood they vaunted of *Guiana* and of the riches therof, and all what they knew of the wayes and paſſages, my ſelfe

ſelfe ſeeming to purpoſe nothing leſſe then the enterance or diſcouerie thereof, but bred in them an opinion that I was bound only for the reliefe of thoſe engliſh, which I had plainted in *Virginia*, whereof the brute was come among them, which I had performed in my returne if extremity of weather had not forſt me from the ſaide coaſt.

I found occaſions of ſtaying in this place for two cauſes: the one was to be reuenged of *Berreo*, who the yeare before betraied 8. of Captaine *Whiddons* men, & tooke them while he departed from them to ſeeke the *E. Bonauenture*, which ariued at *Trinedado* the day before from the Eaſt *Indies*: in whoſe abſence *Berreo* ſent a *Canoa* abord the pinnace only with *Indians* and dogs inuiting the company to go with them into the wods to kil a deare, who like wiſe men in the abſence of their Captaine followed the *Indians* but were no ſooner one harquebuſh ſhot from the ſhore, but *Berreos* ſouldiers lying in ambuſh had them al, notwithſtanding that he had giuen his worde to Captaine *Whiddon* that they ſhould take water and wood ſafely: the other cauſe of my ſtay was, for that by diſcourſe with the *Spanyards* I dayly learned more and more of *Guiana*, of the riuers and paſſages, and of the enterprize of *Berreo*, by what meanes or fault he failed, and how he meant to proſecute the ſame.

While we thus ſpent the time I was aſſured by another *Caſique* of the north ſide of the Iland, that *Berreo* had ſent to *Marguerita* & to *Cumana* for ſouldiers meaning to haue giuen me a *Caſſado* at parting, if it had bin poſſible. For although he had giuen order through all the Iland that no *Indian* ſhould come aborde to trade

with me vpon paine of hanging and quartering, (hauing executed two of them for the ſame which I afterwardes founde) yet euerie night there came ſome with moſt lamẽtable complaints of his cruelty, how he had deuided the Iland & giuen to euery ſoldier a part, that he made the ancient *Caſſiqui* which were Lordes of the countrie to be their ſlaues, that he kept them in chains, & dropped their naked bodies with burning bacon, & ſuch other torments, which I found afterwards to be true: for in the citie after I entred the ſame, there were 5. of the Lords or litle kings (which they call *Caſiqui* in the weſt Indies) in one chaine almoſt dead of famine, & waſted with torments: theſe are called in their own langauge *Acarewana*, and now of late ſince Engliſh, French, & Spaniſh are come among them, they cal themſelues *Capitaines*, becauſe they perceiue that the chiefeſt of euery ſhip is called by that name. Thoſe fiue *Capitaines* in the chaine were called *Wannawanare*, *Carroaori*, *Maquarima*; *Tarroopanama*, & *Aterima*. So as both to be reuenged of the former wrong, as alſo conſidering that to enter *Guiana* by ſmall boats, to depart 400. or 500. miles from my ſhips, and to leaue a gariſon in my backe interreſſed in the ſame enterprize, who alſo daily expected ſupplies out of Spaine, I ſhould haue ſauoured very much of the Aſſe: and therefore taking a time of moſt aduantage, I ſet upon the *Corp du guard* in the euening, and haueing put them to the ſword, ſent Captaine *Calfield* onwards with 60. ſoldiers, & my ſelfe followed with 40. more & ſo toke their new city which they called *S. Ioſeph*, by breake of day: they abode not any fight after a few ſhot, & al being diſmiſſed but only *Berreo* & his companion, I brought them with me abord,

bord, and at the inſtance of the Indians, I ſet their new City of *S. Ioſephs* on fire.

The ſame day arriued Captaine *George Gifford* with your Lordſhips ſhip, & Captaine *Keymis* whom I loſt on the coaſt of Spayne, with the *Gallego*, and in them diuers Gent. and others, which to our little army was a great comfort and ſupply.

We then haſtened away towards our purpoſed diſcouerie, and firſt I called all the Captaines of the Iland together that were enemies to the Spaniards, for there were ſome which *Berreo* had broght out of other countries, & planted there to eat out & waſt thoſe that were natural of the place, & by my Indian interpreter, which I caried out of England, I made them vnderſtand that I was the ſeruant of a Queene, who was the great *Caſique* of the north, and a virgin, and had more *Caſiqui* vnder her then there were trees in that Iland: that ſhe was an enemy to the *Caſtelani* in reſpect of their tyranny and oppreſſion, and that ſhe deliuered all ſuch nations about her, as were by them oppreſſed, & hauing freed al the coaſt of the northren world from their ſeruitude had ſent me to free them alſo, and with al to defend the countrey of *Guiana* from their inuaſion and conqueſt. I ſhewed them her maieſties picture which they ſo admired and honoured, as it had beene eaſie to haue brought them Idolatrous thereof.

The like & a more large diſcourſe I made to the reſt of the nations both in my paſſing to *Guiana*, & to thoſe of the borders, ſo as in that part of the world her maieſty is very famous and admirable, whom they now call *Ezrabeta Caſſipuna Aquerewana*, which is as much as *Elizabeth*, the great princeſſe or greateſt commaunder.

This done wee left *puerto de los Hiſpanioles*, and returned to *Curiapan*, and hauing *Berreo* my priſonour I gathered from him as much of *Guiana* as he knewe.

This *Berreo* is a gent. vvell deſcended, and had long ſerued the Spaniſh king in *Millain*, *Naples*, the lovve Countries and elſe vvhere, verie valiant & liberall, and a Gent. of great aſſuredneſs, and of a great heart: I vſed him according to his eſtate and vvorth in all things I could, according to the ſmall meanes I had.

I ſent Captain *VVhiddon* the yeare before to get what knowledge he could of *Guiana*, and the end of my iorney at this time was to diſcouer & enter the ſame, but my intelligence was farre from trueth, for the country is ſituate aboue 600. Engliſh miles further from the ſea, then I was made beleeue it had beene, which afterward vnderſtanding to be true by *Berreo*, I kept it from the knowledge of my companie, who elſe woulde neuer haue beene brought to attempt the ſame: of which 600. miles I paſſed 400. leauing my ſhippes ſo farre from me at ancor in the ſea, which was more of deſire to performe that diſcouery, then of reaſon, eſpecially hauing ſuch poore & weake veſſels to tranſport our ſelues in; for in the bottom of an old *Gallego* which I cauſed to be faſhioned like a Galley, and in one barge, two wherries, and a ſhip bote of the Lions whelpe, we caried 100 perſons and their victuals for a moneth in the ſame, being al driuen to lie in the raine & weather, in the open aire, in the burning ſunne, & vpon the hard bords, and to dreſſe our meat, and to cary al manner of furniture in them, wherewith they were ſo peſtred and vnſauery, that what with victuals being moſt fiſh,

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with the weet clothes of ſo many men thruſt together and the heate of the ſunne, I will vndertake there was neuer any priſon in England, that coulde be founde more vnſauory and lothſome, eſpecially to my ſelfe, who had for many yeares before beene dieted and cared for in a ſort farre more differing.

If Captaine *Preſton* had not beene perſwaded that he ſhould haue come too late to *Trinedado* to haue found vs there (for the moneth was expired which I promiſed to tarry for him there ere he could recouer the coaſt of Spayne) but that it had pleaſed God he might haue ioyned with vs, and that wee had entred the countrey but ſome ten daies ſooner ere the riuers were ouerflowen, we had aduentured either to haue gone to the great City of *Manoa*, or at leaſt taken ſo many of the other Cities and townes neerer at hand, as would haue made a royall returne: but it pleaſed not God ſo much to fauour me at this time: if it ſhalbe my lot to proſecute the ſame, I ſhall willingly ſpend my life therein, and if any elſe ſhalbe enabled thereunto, and conquere the ſame, I aſſure him thus much, he ſhall performe more then euer was done in *Mexico* by *Cortez*, or in *Peru* by *Pacaro*, wherof the one conquered the Empyre of *Mutezuma*, the other of *Guaſcar*, and *Atabalipa*, and whatſoeuer Prince ſhall poſſeſſe it, that Prince ſhall be Lorde of more Golde, and of a more beautifull Empire, and of more Cities and people, then eyther the king of Spaine, or the great Turke.

But becauſe there may ariſe many doubtes, and how this Empyre of *Guiana* is become ſo populous, and adorned with ſo many greate Cities, Townes, Temples, and treaſures, I thought good to make it

knowen, that the Emperor now raigning is deſcēded from thoſe magnificent Princes of *Peru* of whoſe large territories, of whoſe pollicies, conqueſts, edifices, and riches *Pedro de Cieza*, *Franciſco Lopez*, and others haue written large diſcourſes: for when *Franciſco Pacaro*, *Diego Almagro* and others conquered the ſaid Empyre of *Peru*, and had put to death *Atabalipa* ſonne to *Cuaynacapa*, which *Atabalipa* had formerly cauſed his eldeſt brother *Guaſcar* to be ſlaine, one of the yonger ſonnes of *Guaynacapa* fled out of *Peru*, and tooke with him many thouſandes of thoſe ſouldiers of the Empyre called *Oreiones*, and with thoſe and many others which followed him, he vanquiſhed al that tract and valley of *America* which is ſituate betweene the greate riuer of *Amazones*, and *Baraquan*, otherwiſe called *Orenóke* and *Maranion*.

The Empyre of *Guiana* is directly eaſt from *Peru* towards the ſea, and lieth vnder the Equinoctiall line, and it hath more abundance of Golde then any part of *Peru*, and as many or moe great Cities then euer *Peru* had when it floriſhed moſt: it is gouerned by the ſame lawes, and the Emperour and people obſerue the ſame religion, and the ſame forme and pollicies in gouernment as was vſed in *Peru*, not differing in any part: and as I haue beene aſſured by ſuch of the *Spanyardes* as haue ſeene *Manoa* the imperial Citie of *Guiana*, which the *Spaniards* cal *El Dòrado*, that for the greatnes, for the riches, and for the excellent ſeate, it farre exceedeth any of the world, at leaſt of ſo much of the world as is knowen to the Spaniſh nation: it is founded vpon a lake of ſalt water of 200. leagues long like vnto *mare caſpiũ*. And if we compare it to that of *Peru*, & but

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read the report of *Francisco Lopez* & others, it wil seeme more then credible, and becauſe we may iudge of the one by the other, I thought good to inſert part of the 120. chapter of *Lopez* in his generall hiſtorie of the *Indies*, wherein he diſcribeth the court and magnificence of *Guynacapa*, aunceſtor to the Emperour of *Guiana*, whoſe very wordes are theſe. *Todo el ſeruicio de ſu caſa, meſa, y cozina era de oro, y de plata, y quando menos de plata, y cobre per mas rezio. Tenia en ſu recamara eſtatuas huecas de oro que parecian gigantes, y las figuras al propio, y tamano de quantos animales, aues, arboles, y yeruas produze la tierra, y de quantos peces cria la mar y aguas de ſus reynos. Tenia aſſi meſmo ſogas, coſtales, ceſtas, y troxes de oro y plata, rimeros de palos de oro, que pareciеſſen lenna raiada para quemar. En fin no auia coſa en ſu tierra, que no la tuuieſſe de oro contrahecha: y aun dizen, que tenian los Ingas vn vergel en vna Iſla cerca de la Puna, donde ſe yuan a holgar, quando querian mar, que tenia la ortaliza, las flores, y arboles de oro y plata, inuencion y grandeza haſta entonces nunca viſta. Allende de todo eſto tenia infinitiſſmia cantidad de plata, y oro por labrar en el Cuzco, que ſe perdio por la muerte de Guaſcar, ca los Indios lo eſcondieron, viendo que los eſpanioles ſe lo tomauan, y embiauan a Eſpania.* That is, All the veſſels of his houſe, table and kitchin were of Gould and Siluer, and the meaneſt of ſiluer & copper for ſtrength and hardnes of mettal. He had in his wardroppe hollow ſtatues of golde which ſeemed giants, and the figures in proportion and bignes of all the beaſtes, birdes, trees and hearbes, that the earth bringeth forth: and of all the fiſhes that the ſea or waters of his kingdome breedeth. Hee had alſo ropes, budgets, cheſtes and troughs of golde and ſiluer, heapes of billets of golde that ſeemed woode,

marked out to burne. Finally there was nothing in his countrey, whereof he had not the counterfeat in gold: Yea and they say, The *Ingas* had a garden of pleasure in an Iland neere *Puna*, where they went to recreate themselues, when they would take the ayre of the sea, which had all kind of garden hearbes, flowers and trees of Gold and Siluer, an inuention, & magnificence til then neuer seene. Besides all this, he had an infinite quantitie of siluer and gold vnwrought in *Cuzco* which was lost by the death of *Guascar*, for the Indians hid it, seeing that the Spaniards tooke it, and sent it into Spaine.

And in the 117. Chapter *Francisco Picarro* caused the Goulde, and Siluer of *Atabalipa* to bee weyed, after hee had taken it, which *Lopez* setteth downe in these wordes following.

Hallaron cinquenta y dos mill marcos de buena plata, y vn millon y trezientos y veinte y seys mil, y quinientos pesos de oro, which is: They found fiftie and two thousand markes of good siluer, and one million, and three hundred twentie and six thousand and fiue hundred pesoes of golde.

Nowe although these reportes may seeme strange, yet if wee consider the many millions which are daily brought out of *Peru* into Spaine, wee may easely beleeue the same, for wee finde that by the abundant treasure of that countrey, the Spanish King vexeth all the Princes of Europe, and is become in a fewe yeares from a poore king of *Castile* the greatest monarke of this parte of the worlde, and likelie euery day to increase, if other Princes forsloe the good occasions offered, and suffer him to adde this Empire to

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the reſt, which by farre exceedeth all the reſt: if his golde now indanger vs, hee will then be vnreſiſtable. Such of the Spanyardes as afterwarde endeuoured the conqueſt thereof (whereof there haue beene many as ſhall bee declared heereafter) thought that this *Inga*, (of whome this Emperor now liuing is deſcended) tooke his way by the riuer *Amazones*, by that braunch which is callen *Papamene*, for by that way followed *Oreliano* (by the commaundement of the Marquis *Pacarro* in the yeare 1542.) whoſe name the riuer alſo beareth this day, which is alſo by others called *Maragnon*, althogh *Andrew Theuet* doth affirm that betwen *Maragnon* and *Amazones* there are 120. leagues: but ſure it is that thoſe riuers haue one head & beginning, and the *Maragnon* which *Theuet* deſcribeth is but a braunch of *Amazones*, or *Oreliano*, of which I wil ſpeake more in another place. It was alſo attempted by *Diego Ordace*, but whether before *Oreliano* or after I knowe not: but it is now little leſſe then 70. yeares ſince that *Ordace* a knight of the order of *Saint Iago* attempted the ſame: and it was in the yeare 1542. that *Oreliano* diſcouered the riuer of *Amazones*; but the firſt that euer ſawe *Manoa* was *Iohannes Martines* maiſter of the munition to *Ordace*. At a port called *Morequito* in *Guiana* there lieth at this day a greate ancor of *Ordaces* ſhippe, and this port is ſome 300. miles within the lande, vpon the greate riuer of *Orenoque*.

I reſted at this port fowre daies: twentie dayes after I left the ſhippes at *Curiapan*. The relation of this *Martines* (who was the firſt that diſcouered *Manoa* (his ſucceſſe & end is to be ſeene in the Chauncery of *Saint Iuan de puerto rico*, whereof *Berreo* had a copie, which

appeared to be the greateſt incoragement as well to *Berreo* as to others that formerly attemped the diſcouery and conqueſt, *Oreliano* after he failed of the diſcouery of *Guiana*, by the ſaide riuer of *Amazones*, paſſed into Spaine, and there obtained a patten of the king for the inuaſion and conqueſt, but died by ſea about the Ilandes, and his fleet ſeuered by tempeſt, the action for that time proceeded not. *Diego Ordace* followed the enterprize, and departed Spain with 600. ſoldiers and 30. horſe, who ariuing on the coaſt of *Guiana*, was ſlaine in a mutiny with the moſt part of ſuch as fauoured him, as alſo of the rebellious part, in ſo much as his ſhips periſhed, and few or none returned, neither was it certainely knowen what became of the ſaide *Ordace*, vntill *Berreo* found the ancor of his ſhip in the riuer of *Orenoque*; but it was ſuppoſed, and ſo it is written by *Lopez* that he periſhed on the ſeas, and of other writers diuerſly conceiued & reported. And heereof it came that *Martines* entred ſo farre within the Lande and ariued at that Citie of *Inga* the Emperor, for it chanced that while *Ordace* with his army reſted at the port of *Morequito* (who was either the firſt or ſecond that attempted *Guiana*,) by ſom negligence, the whol ſtore of powder prouided for the ſeruice, was ſet on fire, & *Martines* hauing the chief charg was condemned by the generall *Ordace* to be executed forthwith: *Martines* being much fauoured by the ſoldiers had al the meane poſſible procured for his life, but it could not be obtained in other ſort then this. That he ſhould be ſet into a *Canoa* alone without any victual, only with his armes, and ſo turnd looſe into the great riuer: but it pleaſed God that the *Canoa* was caried

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downe the ſtreame, & that certain of the *Guianians* met it the ſame euening, & hauing not at any time ſene any Chriſtian, nor any man of that colour, they caried *Martynes* into the land to be wondred at, and ſo from towne to towne, vntill he came to the great Citie of *Manoa*, the ſeate and reſidence of *Inga* the Emperor. The Emperor after he had beheld him, knew him to be a Chriſtian (for it was not long before that his brethren *Guaſcar* and *Atabalipa* were vanquiſhed by the Spaniards in *Peru*) and cauſed him to be lodged in his pallace, and well entertained: hee liued 7. moneths in *Manoa*, but not ſuffered to wander into the countrey any where: hee was alſo brought thither all the waie blindfield, led by the Indians vntill he came to the entrance of *Manoa* it ſelfe, and was 14. or 15. daies in the paſſage: he auowed at his death that he entred the City at *Noon*, and then they vncouered his face, & that he trauelled all that day til night thorow the City, and the next day from ſun riſing to ſun ſetting, ere he came to the pallace of *Inga*. After that *Martynes* had liued 7 moneths in *Manoa*, and began to vnderſtand the language of the country, *Inga* asked him whether he deſired to returne into his own countrey, or would wilingly abide with him: but *Martynes* not deſirous to ſtay, abtained the fauour of *Inga* to depart, with whom he ſent diuers *Guianians* to conduct him to the riuer of *Orenoque* al loden with as much gold as they could carrie, which he gaue to *Martynes* at his departure: but whē he was arriued neere the riuers ſide, the borderers which are called *Orenoqueponi* robbed him and his *Guianians* of all the treaſure (the borderers beeing at that time at warres which *Inga*, had not conquered) ſaue onely of

two great bottels of gords, which were filled with beads of golde curiously wrought, which those *Orenoqueponi* thought had bin no other thing then his drink or meat or graine for food with which *Martynes* had liberty to passe, and so in *Canoas* he fell down from the riuer of *Orenoque* to *Trinedado*, and from thence to *Margnerita*, & so to *Saint Iuan de puerto rico*, where remaining a long tyme for passage into *Spaine* he died. In the time of his extreeme sickneſſe, and when he was without hope of life, receiuing the *Sacrament* at the handes of his Confessor, he deliuered these things, with the relation of his trauels, and also called for his *Culabaza* or gords of the gold beads which he gaue to the Church & friers to be praid for. This *Martynes* was he that christned the citie of *Manoa*, by the name of *El Dorado*, and as *Berreo* informed me vpon this occasion. Those *Guianians* and also the borderers, and all other in that tract which I haue seen are marueylous great drunkards, in which vice I thinke no nation can compare with them and at the times of their solemne feasts when the Emperor carowseth with his Captayns, tributaries, & gouernours, the manner is thus. All those that pledge him are first stripped naked, & their bodies annointed al ouer with a kind of white *Balsamum*: by them called *Curcas*) of which there is great plenty and yet very deare amongst them, and it is of all other the most pretious, whereof we haue had good experience: when they are annointed all ouer, certaine seruants of the Emperor hauing prepared gold made into fine powder blow it thorow holow canes vpō their naked bodies, vntil they be al shining from the foote to the head, & in this sort they sit drinking by twenties & hundreds & continue

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in drunkennes ſometimes ſix or ſeuen daies together: the ſame is alſo confirmed by a letter written into *Spayne* which was intercepted, which maſter *Robert Dudley* told me he had ſeene. Vpon this ſight, and for the abundance of Gold which he ſaw in the citie, the Images of gold in their Temples, the plates armors and ſhields of gold which they vſe in the wars, hee called it *El Dorado*. After *Orellana* who was emploied by *Pacaro* afterwards *Marques Pacaro* conqueror and gouernour of *Peru*, and the death of *Ordace* and *Martynes*, one *Pedro de Oſua*, a knight of *Nauarre* attempted *Guiana*, taking his way from *Peru*, and built his brigandines vpon a riuer called *Oia*, which riſeth to the ſouthward of *Quinto*, and is very great: this riuer falleth into *Amazones*, by which *Oſua* with his companies deſcended, and came out of that Prouince which is called *Mutylones*: and it ſeemeth to me that this Empyre is reſerued for her Maieſtie and the *Engliſh* nation, by reaſon of the hard ſucceſſe which all theſe & other *Spaniards* found in attempting the ſame, whereof I will ſpeake briefly, though impertinent in ſome ſort to my purpoſe. This *Pedro de Oſua* had among his troupes a *Baſcayn* called *Agiri*, a man meanely borne, & bare no other office than a Surgean, or *Alferez*: but after certain months, when the ſouldiers were grieued with trauels and conſumed with famine, and that no entrance could be found by the branches or bodie of *Amazones*, this *Agiri* raiſed a muteny, of which hee made himſelfe the head, and ſo preuailed as he put *Oſua* to the ſword and all his followers, taking on him the whole charge and commaundement, with a purpoſe not onely to make himſelfe Emperour of *Guiana*,

but alſo of *Peru*, and of al that ſide of the *Weſt Indies*: he had of his partie ſeuen hundred ſoldiers, and of thoſe many promiſed to draw in other captains and companies to deliuer vp townes and forts in *Peru*, but neither finding by the ſaid riuer any paſſage into *Guiana*, nor any poſſibilitie to returne towards *Peru* by the ſame *Amazones*, by reaſon that the deſcent of the riuer made ſo great a currant, he was inforced to deſemboque at the mouth of the ſaid *Amazones*, which cannot be leſſe than a thouſand leagues frō the place where they imbarqued: from thence he coaſted the land till he arriued at *Marguerita* to the North of *Mompatar*, which is at this daie called *puerto de Tyranno*, for that he there ſlue *Don Iuan de villa Andreda*, gouernor of *Marguerita* who was father to *Don Iuan Sermiento* gouernour of *Marguerito* when Sir *Iohn Burgh* landed there, and attempted the *Iland*. *Agiri* put to the ſworde all other in the Iland that refuſed to be of his partie, and tooke with him certane *Cemerones*, and other deſperate companions: From thence he went to *Cumana*, and there ſlew the *Gouernour*, and dealt in all as at *Marguerita*: he ſpoiled all the coaſt of *Caracas*, and the prouince of *Veſuello*, and of *Rio de hache*, and as I remember it was the ſame yeer that Sir *Iohn Hawkins* ſailed to Saint *Iuan de Lua* in the *Ieſus* of *Lubeck*, for himſelfe told me that he met with ſuch a one vpon the coaſt that rebelled, and had ſailed downe all the riuer of *Amazones*. *Agiri* from thence landed about *Santa Marta*, and ſacked it alſo, putting to death ſo many as refuſed to be his followers, purpoſing to inuade *Nueuo reygno de Granada*, & to ſack *Pampelone*, *Merida*, *Lagrita*, *Tunia*, & the reſt of the cities of *Nueuo reygno*, and from thence

thence againe to enter *Peru*: but in a fight in the ſaid *Nueuo reygno* he was ouerthrowne, & finding no way to eſcape, he firſt put to the ſworde his own children, foretelling them that they ſhould not liue to be defamed or vpbraid by the *Spaniards* after his death, who would haue tearmed them the children of a *Traytor* or *Tyrant*, and that ſithence he could not make them Princes, he would yet deliuer them from ſhame and reproch: Theſe were the ends and tragedies of *Oreliano*, *Ordace*, *Oſua*, *Martines*, and *Agiri*.

After theſe followed *Ieronimo Ortal de ſaragoſa* with 130. ſoldiers, who failing his enterance by ſea was caſt with the currant on the coaſt of *Paria*, and peopled about *S. Miguell de Neueri*. It was then attempted by *Don Pedro de ſilua* a *Portugues* of the familie of *Rigomes de ſylua*, and by the fauour which *Rigomes* had with the king, he was ſet out, but he alſo ſhot wide of the mark, for being departed from *Spaine* with his fleete, he entred by *Maragnon* and *Amazones*, whereby the nations of the riuer, and by the *Amazones* he was vtterly ouerthrowen, and himſelfe and all his armie defeated, onely ſeuen eſcaped, and of thoſe but two returned.

After him came *Pedro Hernandez de ſerpa*, and landed at *Cumana* in the *Weſt Indies*, taking his iourney by land towards *Orenoque*; which may bee ſome 120. leagues, but ere he came to the borders of the ſaide riuer, he was ſet vpon by a nation of Indians called *Wikiri*, and ouerthrowne in ſort, that of 300. ſoldiers, horſemen, many Indians, and *Negros*, there returned but 18: others affirme that he was defeated in the very entrance of *Guiana*, at the firſt ciuill towne of the Empire called *Macureguarai*. Captaine *Preſton* in taking

S Iago de Leon(which was by him and his companies very resolutly performed, being a greate towne, and far within the land) held a gentleman prisoner who died in his ship, that was one of the companie of *Hernandes de Serpa*, and saued among those that escaped, who witnessed what opinion is held among the *Spaniards* thereabouts of the greate riches of *Guiana*, and *El dorado* the citie of *Inga*. Another *Spaniard* was brought aboord me by Captaine *Preston*, who told me in the hearing of himselfe and diuers other gentlemen, that he met with *Berreos* Campmaister at *Caracas*, when he came from the borders of *Guiana*, and that he saw with him fortie of most pure plates of goulde curiously wrought, and swordes of *Guiana* decked and inlaid with golde, feathers garnished with golde, and diuers rarities which he carried to the *Spanish* king.

After *Hernandez de Serpa* it was vndertaken by the *Adelantado*, *Don Gonzales Cemenes de Casada*, who was one of the chiefest in the conquest of *Nueuo reigno*, whose daughter & heire *Don Anthonio de Berreo* maried: *Gonzales* sought the passage also by the riuer called *Papamene*, which riseth by *Quito* in *Peru*, & runneth southeast 100. leagues, & then falleth into *Amazones*, but he also failing the entrance, returned with the losse of much labour and cost: I tooke one captaine *George* a *Spaniard* that followed *Gonzales* in this enterprise. *Gonzales* gaue his daughter to *Berreo* taking his oth and honor, to follow the enterprise to the last of his substance and life, who since as he hath sworne to me hath spent 300000. ducates in the same, and yet neuer could enter so far into the land as my selfe with that poore troupe or rather a handfull of men, being in all about

100.

100 gentlemen, ſoldiers, rowers, bote-keepers, boies, and of all ſortes: neither could any of the forpaſſed vndertakers, nor *Berreo* himſelfe diſcouer the country, till now lately by conference with an auncient king called *Carapana* he got the true light thereof: for *Berreo* came about 1500. miles, ere he vnderſtoode ought, or could finde any paſſage or entrance into any parte thereof, yet he had experience of all theſe forenamed, and diuers others, and was perſwaded of their errors and miſtakings. *Berreo* ſought it by the riuer *Caſſamar*, which falleth into a great riuer called *Pato*, *Pato* falleth into *Meta*, and *Meta* into *Baraquan*, which is alſo called *Orenoque*.

He tooke his iourney from *Nueuo reygno de granada* where he dwelt, hauing the inheritance of *Gonzales Cemenes* in thoſe parts: he was followed with 700. horſe, he draue with him 1000. heade of cattell, he had alſo many women, Indians, and ſlaues. How all theſe riuers croſſe and encounter, how the country lieth and is bordred, the paſſage of *Cemenes*, and *Berreo*, mine owne diſcouery, and the way that I entred, with all the reſt of the nations and riuers, your Lordſhip ſhall receiue in a large Chart or Map, which I haue not yet finiſhed, and which I ſhall moſt humbly praie your Lo. to ſecret, and not to ſuffer it to paſſe your own hands, for by a draught thereof all may bee preuented by other nations. For I know it is this very yeere ſought by the French, although by the way that they now take, I feare it not much. It was alſo tolde me ere I departed England, that *Villiers* the Admirall was in preparation for the planting of *Amazones*, to which riuer the French haue made diuers voyages, and returned much

much gold and other rarities, I ſpake with a captaine of a French ſhip that came from thence, his ſhip riding in *Falmuth*, the ſame yeere that my ſhips came firſt from *Virginia*.

There was another this yeere in *Helford* that alſo came from thence, and had been 14. moneths at an ancor in *Amazones*, which were both very rich: Although as I am perſwaded; *Guiana* cannot be entred that way, yet no doubt the trade of gold from thence paſſeth by braunches of riuers into the riuer of *Amazones* and ſo it doth on euery hand farre from the countrey it ſelfe, for thoſe Indians of *Trinedado* haue plates of gold from *Guiana*, and thoſe *Canibals* of *Dominica* which dwell in the Ilands by which our ſhips paſſe yeerly to the *Weſt Indies*, alſo the Indians of *Paria*, thoſe Indians called *Tucaris*, *Chochi*, *Apotomios*, *Cumanagotos*, and all thoſe other nations inhabiting nere about the mountains that run from *Paria* thorow the Prouince of *Venſuello*, and in *Maracapana*, and the Canibals of *Guanipa*, the Indians called *Aſſawai*, *Coaca*, *Aiai*, and the reſt (all which ſhall be deſcribed in my deſcription as they are ſituate) haue plates of gold of *Guiana*. And vpon the riuer of *Amazones Theuet* writeth that the people weare *Croiſſants* of gold, for of that form the *Guianians* moſt commonly make thē: So as from *Dominica* to *Amazones* which is aboue 250. leagues, al the chiefe Indians in al parts weare of thoſe plates of *Guiana*. Vndoubtedly thoſe that trade *Amazones* returne much gold, which (as is aforeſaide) commeth by trade from *Guiana*, by ſome branch of a riuer that falleth from the countrey into *Amazones*, and either it is by the riuer which paſſeth by the nations called *Tiſnados*, or by *Carepuna*.

repuna. I made inquiry amongſt the moſt ancient and beſt traueled of the *Orenoqueponi*, & I had knowledge of all the riuers between *Orenoque* and *Amazones*, and was very deſirous to vnderſtand the trueth of thoſe warlike women, bicauſe of ſome it is beleeued, of others not: And though I digreſſe from my purpoſe, yet I wil ſet downe that hath beene deliuered me for truth of thoſe women, and I ſpake with a *Caſique* or Lorde of people that told me he had been in the riuer, and beyond it alſo. The nations of theſe women are on the ſouth ſide of the riuer in the Priuinces of *Topago*, and their chiefeſt ſtrengths, and retracts are in the Ilands ſcituate on the ſouth ſide of the entrance, ſome 60, leagues within the mouth of the ſaide riuer. The memories of the like women are verie ancient as well in *Africa* as in *Aſia*: In *Africa* thoſe that had *Meduſa* for *Queene*: others in *Scithia* neere the riuers of *Tanais* and *Thermadon*: we finde alſo that *Lampedo* and *Martheſia* were *Queens* of the *Amazones*: in many hiſtories they are verified to haue been, and in diuers ages and Prouinces: But they which are not far from *Guiana* do accompanie with men but once in a yeare, and for the time of one moneth, which I gather by their relation to be in Aprill. And that time all Kings of the borders aſſemble, and Queenes of the *Amazones*, and after the Queenes haue choſen, the reſt caſt lots for their *Valentines*. This one moneth, they feaſt, dance, & drinke of their wines in abundance, and the Moone being done, they all depart to their owne Prouinces. If they conceiue, and be deliuered of a ſonne, they returne him to the father, if of a daughter they nouriſh it, and retaine it, and as many as haue daughters ſend

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vnto the begetters a Preſent, all being deſirous to increaſe their owne ſex and kind, but that they cut of the right dug of the breſt I do not finde to be true. It was farther told me, that if in theſe warsthey tooke any priſoners that they vſed to accompany with thoſe alſo at what time ſoeuer, but in the end for certaine they put them to death: for they are ſaid to be very cruell and bloodthirſty, eſpecially to ſuch as offer to inuade their territories. Theſe *Amazones* haue likewiſe great ſtore of theſe plates of golde, which they recouer by exchange chiefly for a kinde of greene ſtones, which the Spaniards call *Piedras Hijadas*, and we vſe for ſpleene ſtones, and for the diſeaſe of the ſtone we alſo eſteeme them: of theſe I ſaw diuers in *Guiana*, and commonly euery king or *Caſique* hath one, which their wiues for the moſt part weare, and they eſteem them as greate iewels.

But to returne to the enterpriſe of *Berreo*, who (as I haue ſaid) departed from *Nueuo reygno* with 700. horſe beſides the prouiſions aboue rehearſed; he deſcended by the riuer called *Caſſanar*, which riſeth in *Nueuo reygno* out of the mountaines by the citie of *Tuuia*, from which mountaine alſo ſpringeth *Pato*, both which fall into the great riuer of *Meta*, and *Meta* riſeth from a mountaine ioyning to *Pampelone* in the ſame *Nueuo reygno de Granada*: theſe as alſo *Guaiare*, which iſſueth out of the mountaines by *Timana* fall all into *Baraquan*, and are but of his heads, for at their comming togither they looſe their names, and *Baraquan* farther down is alſo rebaptized by the name of *Orenoque*. On the other ſide of the citie and hils of *Timana* riſeth *rio grande*, which falleth into the ſea by *Santta Marta*. By *Caſ-*

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ſonar firſt, and ſo into *Meta Berreo* paſſed, keeping his horſemen on the bankes, where the countrie ſerued them for to march, and where otherwiſe he was driuen to embarque them in boates which he builded for the purpoſe, & ſo came with the currant down the riuer of *Meta*, and ſo into *Baraquan*. After he entred that great and mighty riuer, he began daily to looſe of his companies both men and horſe, for it is in many places violently ſwift, and hath forcible eddies, many ſands, and diuers Ilandes ſharpe pointed with rocks: But after one whole yeere, iourneying for the moſt part by riuer, and the reſt by land he grew daily to fewer numbers, for both by ſicknes, and by encountring with the people of thoſe regions, through which he trauelled, his companies were much waſted, eſpecially by diuers incounters with the *Amapaiens*: And in all this time he neuer could learne of any paſſage into *Guiana*, nor any newes or fame thereof, vntill he came to a farther border of the ſaide *Amapaia*, eight daies iourney from the riuer *Caroli*, which was the fartheſt riuer that he entred. Among thoſe of *Amapaia*, *Guiana* was famous, but few of theſe people accoſted *Berreo*, or woulde trade with him the firſt three moneths of the ſix which he ſoiourned there. This *Amapaia* is alſo maruellous rich in golde (as both *Berreo* confeſſed and thoſe of *Guiana* with whome I had moſt conference) and is ſituate vpon *Orenoke* alſo. In this countrey *Berreo* loſt 60. of his beſt ſoldiers, and moſt of all his horſe that remained in his former yeeres trauell: but in the end after diuers encounters with thoſe nations they grew to peace, and they preſented *Berreo* with 10. Images of fine gold amõg diuers other plates

and *Croiſſants*, which as he ſware to me and diuers other gentlemen were ſo curiouſly wrought, as he had not ſeene the like eyther in *Italy*, *Spayne*, or the *Lowe Countries*: and he was reſolued that when they came to the handes of the *Spaniſh* king, to whom he had ſent them by his Campmaſter, they would appeare very admirable, eſpecially being wrought by ſuch a nation as had no Iron inſtruments at all, nor any of thoſe helps which our goldſmiths haue to work withall. The particular name of the people in *Amapaia* which gaue him theſe peeces are called *Anebas*, and the riuer of *Orenoque* at that place is aboue 12. *Engliſh* miles brode, which may be from his out fall into the ſea 700. or 800. miles.

This Prouince of *Amapaia* is a verie low and a mariſh ground neere the riuer, and by reaſon of the red water which iſſueth out in ſmall branches thorow the fenny and boggie ground there breed diuers poyſonfull wormes and ſerpents, and the Spaniards not ſuſpecting, nor in any ſort foreknowing the danger were infected with a grieuous kind of flux by drinking therof, and euen the very horſes poiſoned therewith: In ſo much as at the end of the ſix months, that they abode there, of all their troups, there were not left aboue 120. ſoldiers, and neyther horſe nor cattle. For *Berreo* hoped to haue found *Guiana* by 1000. miles neerer than it fell out to be in the end, by means wherof they ſuſtained much want and much hunger, oppreſſed with greeuous diſeaſes, and all the miſeries that could be imagined. I demanded of thoſe in *Guiana* that had trauelled *Amapaia* how they liued with that tawny or red water when they trauelled thither, and they tolde

me that after the *Sun* was neere the midle of the skie, they vſed to fill their pots and pit chers with that water, but either before that time, or towards the ſetting of the *Sun* it was dangerous to drinke of, and in the night ſtrong poiſon. I learned alſo of diuers other riuers of that nature among them which were alſo (while the *Sun* was in the *Meridian*) very ſafe to drink, and in the morning, euening, and night, woonderfull dangerous and infectiue. From this prouiuce *Berreo* haſted away as ſoone as the *Spring* and beginning of *Summer* appeered, & ſought his entrance on the borders of *Orenoque* on the ſouth ſide, but there ran a ledge of ſo high & impaſſable mountaines as he was not able by any meanes to march ouer thē, cōtinuing from the eaſt ſea into which *Orenoque* falleth, euen to *Quito* in *Peru*: neither had he meanes to carrie victuall or munition ouer thoſe craggie, high, and faſt hils, being all wooddy, and thoſe ſo thicke and ſpiny, and ſo full of prickles, thornes, aud briers, as it is impoſſible to creepe thorow them: he had alſo neither friendeſhip among the people, nor any interpreter to perſwade or treate with them, and more, to his diſaduantage, the *Caſſiqui* and kings of *Amapaia* had giuen knowledge of his purpoſe to the *Guianians*, and that he ſought to ſacke and conquer the Empire, for the hope of their ſo greate abundance and quantities of gold: he paſſed by the mouths of many greate riuers, which fell into *Orenoque* both from the north and ſouth, which I forbeare to name for tediouſnes, and bicauſe they are more pleaſing in deſcribing than reading.

Berreo affirmed that there fell an hundred riuers into *Orenoque* from the north and ſouth, whereof the

leſt was as big as *Ria grande*, that paſſed between *Popayan*, and *Nueno reyno de granada* (*Ria grande* being eſteemed one of the renowned riuers in all the weſt Indies, & numbred among the great riuers of the world:) But he knew not the names of any of theſe, but *Caroli* only, neither from what nations they diſcended, neither to what Prouinces they led, for he had no meanes to diſcourſe with the inhibatants at any time: neither was he curious in theſe things, being vtterly vnlearned, & not knowing the eaſt frō the weſt. But of all theſe I got ſom knowlegde, & of many more, partly by mine own trauel, & the reſt by cōference: of ſom one I learne done of others the reſt, hauing with me an Indian that ſpake many languages, & that of *Guiana* naturally. I ſought out all the aged men, & ſuch as were greateſt trauelers, and by the one & the other I came to vnderſtand the ſituations, the riuers, the kingdoms from the eaſt ſea to the borders of *Peru*, & from *Orenoque* ſouthward as far as *Amazones* or *Maragnon*, and the religions of *Maria Tamball*, and of all the kings of Prouinces and captains of townes and villages, how they ſtood in tearms of peace or war, and which were friends or enimies the one with the other, without which there can be neither entrance nor conqueſt in thoſe parts, nor els where: For by the diſſention betweene *Guaſcar* and *Atabalipa*, *Pizaro* conquered *Peru*, and by the hatred that the *Traxcallians* bare to *Mutezuma*, *Cortez* was victorious ouer *Mexico*; without which both the one and the other had failed of their enterprize, and of the great honor and riches, which they attained vnto.

Now *Berreo* began to grow into diſpaire, and looked for no other ſucceſſe than his predeceſſor in this enter-

enterprize, vntill such time as he arriued at the Pro-vince of *Emeria* towardes the east sea and mouth of the riuer, where he found a nation of people very fauourable, and the countrie full of all manner of victuall. The king of this land is called *Carapana*, a man verie wise, subtill, and of great experience, being litle lesse than 100. yeeres old: In his youth he was sent by his father into the Iland of *Trinedado*, by reason of ciuill warre among themselues, and was bred at a village, in that Iland, called *Parico*: at that place in his youth he had seene many Christians both French and Spanish, and went diuers times with the Indians of *Trinedado* to *Marguerita* and *Cumana* in the west Indies, (for both those places haue euer been releeued with victuall from *Trinedado*) by reason whereof he grew of more vnderstanding, and noted the difference of the nations, comparing the strength and armes of his country with those of the Christians, and euer after temporized so, as whosoeuer else did amisse, or was wasted by contention, *Carapana* kept himselfe and his country in quiet and plenty: he also held peace with *Caribas* or *Canibals* his neighbour, and had free trade with all nations whosoeuer else had war.

Berreo soiourned and rested his weake troupe in the towne of *Carapana* six weeks, and from him learned the way and passage to *Guiana*, and the riches & magnificence thereof: but being then vtterly disable to proceede, he determined to try his fortune another yere, when he had renewed his prouisions, and regathered more force, which he hoped for as wel out of Spain, as frõ *Nueuo reyno*, where he had left his son *Don Anthonio Xemenes* to second him vpõ the first notice giuen of his entrance,

entrance, & ſo for the preſent imbarqued himſelfe in *Canoas*, & by the braunches of *Orenoque* ariued at *Trinedado*, hauing from *Carapana* ſufficient Pilots to conduct him. From *Trinedado* he coaſted *Paria*, and ſo recouered *Marguerita*: and hauing made relation to *Don Iuan Sermiento* the gouernour of his proceeding, and perſwaded him of the riches of *Guiana*, he obtained from thence 50. ſoldiers, promiſing preſently to returne to *Carapana*, and ſo into *Guiana*. But *Berreo* ment nothing leſſe at that time, for he wanted many prouiſions neceſſarie for ſuch an enterprize, and therefore departed from *Marguerita*, ſeated himſelfe in *Trinedado*, and from thence ſent his Campmaiſter, and his Sargeant maior backe to the borders to diſcouer the neereſt paſſage, into the Empire, as alſo to treate with the borderers, and to drawe them to his partie and loue, without which, he knew he could neither paſſe ſafely, nor in anie ſort be releeued with victuall or ought els. *Carapana* directed this companie to a king called *Morequito*, aſſuring them that no man coulde deliuer ſo much of *Guiana*, as *Morequito* could, and that his dwelling was but fiue daies iourney from *Macureguarai*, the firſt ciuill towne of *Guiana*.

Now your Lordſhip ſhall vnderſtand that this *Morequito*, one of the greateſt Lords or Kinges of the borders of *Guiana*, had two or three yeares before beene at *Cumana* and at *Marguerita*, in the weſt Indies, with greate ſtore of plates of golde, which he carried to exchange for ſuch other things as he wanted in his owne countrey, and was dayly feaſted, and preſented by the gouernours of thoſe places, and held

held amongst them some two moneths, in which time one *Vides* gouernor of *Cumana* wan him to be his conductor into *Guiana*, being allured by those *Croissants* and Images of gold which he brought with him to trade, as also by the ancient fame and magnificence of *El Dorado*: whereupon *Vides* sent into Spayne for a Patent to discouer and conquer *Guiana*, not knowing of the precedence of *Berreos* patent, which as *Berreo* affirmeth was signed before that of *Vides*: so as when *Vides* vnderstood of *Berreo*, and that he had made entrance into that territorie, and foregone his desire and hope, it was verilie thought that *Vides* practised with *Morequito* to hinder and disturbe *Berreo* in al he could and not to suffer him to enter through his *Seignorie*, nor any of his companies, neither to victuall, nor guide them in any sort; for *Vides* gouenor of *Cumana*, and *Berreo* were become mortall enemies, as well for that *Berreo* had gotten *Trinedado* into his Patent with *Guiana*, as also in that he was by *Berreo* preuented in the iourney of *Guiana* it selfe: howsoeuer it was I know not, but *Morequito* for a time dissembled his disposition, suffered Spaniards, and a Frier (which *Berreo* had sent to discouer *Manoa*) to trauell through his country, gaue them a guide for *Macureguaray* the first towne of ciuill and apparrelled people, from whence they had other guides to bring them to *Manoa* the great citie of *Inga*: and being furnished with those thinges, which they had learned of *Carapana*, were of most price in *Guiana*, went onward, and in eleuen daies arriued at *Manoa*, as *Berreo* affirmeth for certain: although I could not be assured therof by the Lord which now gouerneth the Prouince of

Morequito

Morequito, for he told me that they got all the golde they had, in other townes on this side *Manoa*, there being many very great and rich, and (as he said) built like the townes of Christians, with many roomes.

When these ten Spaniards were returned, and readie to put out of the border of *Arromaia*, the people of *Morequito* set vpon them, & slew them all but one that swam the riuer, and tooke from them to the value of 40000. pesoes of golde, and as it is written in the storie of *Iob*, one onely liued to bring the newes to *Berreo*, that both his nine souldiers and holie father were benighted in the saide Prouince. I my selfe spake with the Captaines of *Morequito* that slewe them, and was at the place where it was executed. *Berreo* inraged heerewithall sente all the strength he coulde make into *Arromaia*, to be reuenged of him, his people, and countrey: but *Morequito* suspecting the same fled ouer *Orenoque*, and thorow the territories of the *Saima*, and *Wikiri*, recouered *Cumana*, where he thought himselfe very safe with *Vides* the gouernor: But *Berreo* sending for him in the kings name, and his messengers finding him in the house of one *Fashardo* on the sudden ere he was suspected, so as he could not then be coueyed away, *Vides* durst not deny him, as well to auoide the suspition of the practise, as also for that an holy father was slaine by him and his people, *Morequito* offred *Fashardo* the weight of three quintals in gold, to let him escape, but the poore *Guianian* betraide of all sides was deliuered to the Campmaster of *Berreo*, and was presently executed.

After the death of this *Morequito*, the souldiers of *Berreo* spoiled his territorie, & tooke diuers prisoners, among

among others they tooke the vnckle of *Morequito* called *Topiawari*, who is now king of *Arromaia*) whose sonne I brought with me into *England*) and is a man of great vnderstanding and pollicie: he is aboue 100. yeeres old, and yet of a very able bodie: the *Spanyardes* led him in a chain 17. daies, and made him their guide from place to place betweene his countrey & *Emeria* the prouince of *Carapana* aforesaid, and was at last redeemed for 100. plates of gold, and diuers stones called *Piedras Hijadas*, or *Spleen* stones. Now *Berreo* for executing of *Morequito* and other cruelties, spoiles, and slaughters done in *Arromaia* hath lost the loue of the *Orenoqueponi*, and of all the borderers, and dare not send any of his soldiers any farther into the land than to *Carapana* which he called the port of *Guiana*: but from thence by the helpe of *Carapana* he had trade farther into the country, & alwaies appointed 10, *Spaniardes* to reside in *Carapanas* towne, by whose fauor & by being conducted by his people, those ten searched the countrey thereabouts as well for mines, as for other trades and commodities.

They also haue gotten a nephew of *Morequito*, whom they haue Christened and named *Don Iuan*, of whom they haue great hope, endeuoring by all means to establish him in the said prouince. Among manie other trades those *Spaniards* vsed *Canoas* to passe to the riuers of *Barema*, *Pawroma*, and *Dissequebe*, which are on the south side of the mouth of *Orenoque*, and there buie women and children from the *Canibals*, which are of that barbarous nature, as they will for 3. or 4. hatchets sell the sonnes and daughters of their owne brethren and sisters, and for somewhat, more

euen their own daughters: heerof the Spaniards make great profit, for buying a maid of 12. or 13. yeeres for three or fower hatchets, they ſell them againe at *Marguerita* in the weſt Indies for 50. and 100. peſoes which is ſo many crownes.

The maſter of my ſhip *Io. Douglas* tooke one of the *Canoas* which came loden from thence with people to be ſold, and the moſt of them eſcaped, yet of thoſe hee brought, there was one as well fauoured, and as well ſhaped as euer I ſawe anie in England, and afterwarde I ſawe many of them, which but for their tawnie colour may bee compared to anie of *Europe*. They alſo trade in thoſe riuers for bread of *Caſſaui*, of which they buy an hundred pounde weight for a knife, and ſell it at *Marguerita* for ten peſoes. They alſo recouer great ſtore of cotten, braſill wood, and thoſe beds which they call *Hamacas* or braſill beds, wherein in hot countries all the Spaniards vſe to lie commonly, and in no other, neyther didwe our ſelues while we were there: By means of which trades, for ranſom of diuers of the *Guianians*, and for exchange of hatchets and kniues, *Berreo* recouered ſome ſtore of gold plates, eagles of gold and Images of men and diuers birds, and diſpatched his Campmaſter for Spaine with all that he had gathered, therewith to leuy ſouldiers, and by the ſhew therof to draw others to the loue of the enterprize: and hauing ſent diuers Images as well of men as beaſtes, birds and fiſhes ſo curiouſly wrought in gold, doubted not but to perſwade the king to yeeld to him ſome further helpe, eſpecially for that this lande hath neuer been ſacked, the mines neuer wrought, and in the

Indies

Indies their works were wel ſpent, and the gold drawn out with greate labour and charge: he alſo diſpacthed meſſengers to his ſonne in *Nueuo reyno* to leuy all the forces he could, and to come down the riuer *Orenoque* to *Emeria*, the prouince of *Carapana*, to meet him: he had alſo ſent to *Saint Iago de Leon* on the coaſt of the *Caracas* to buy horſes and mules.

After I had thus learned of his proceedings paſt & purpoſed: I told him that I had reſolued to ſee *Guiana*, and that it was the end of my iourney, & the cauſe of my comming to *Trinedado*, as it was indeed, (& for that purpoſe I ſent *Ia. Whiddon* the yeere before to get intelligence, with whom *Berreo* himſelfe had ſpeech at that time, and remembred how inquiſitiue *Ia. Whiddon* was of his proceedings, and of the countrey of *Guiana*,) *Berreo* was ſtricken into a greate melancholie and ſadnes, and vſed all the arguments he could to diſwade me, and alſo aſſured the gentlemen of my company that it would be labour loſt, and that they ſhould ſuffer many miſeries if they proceeded: And firſt he deliuered that I could not enter any of the riuers with any barke or pinace, nor hardly with any ſhips bote, it was ſo low, ſandie, and full of flats, and that his companies were daily grounded in their *Canoas* which drew but twelue inches water: he further ſaide that none of the countrey would come to ſpeake with vs, but would all flie, and if we followed them to their dwellings, they would burne their owne townes, and beſides that the way was long, the winter at hand, and that the riuers beginning once to ſwel, it was impoſſible to ſtem the currant, & that we could not in thoſe ſmal bots by any meanes carry vic-

tual for halfe the time, and that (which indeed moſt diſcoraged my company) the Kings and Lords of all the borders and of *Guiana* had decreed, that none of them ſhould trade with any Chriſtians for gold, becauſe the ſame would be their owne ouerthrow, and that for the loue of gold the Chriſtians meant to conquer and diſpoſſeſſe them of all together.

Many and the moſt of theſe I found to be true, but yet I reſoluing to make trial of all whatſoeuer hapned directed Captaine *George Gifford* my Vice-admirall to take the *Lions whelpe*, and Captaine *Calfield* his barke to turne to the eaſtward, againſt the mouth of a riuer called *Capuri*, whoſe entrance I had before ſent Captain *Whiddon* & *Io. Douglas* the maſter, to diſcouer, who founde ſome nine foote water or better vpon the flood, and fiue at low water, to whom I had giuen inſtructions that they ſhoulde ancor at the edge of the ſhold, and vpon the beſt of the floode to thruſt ouer, which ſhold *Iohn Douglas* boyde and bekonned for them before: but they laboured in vain, for neither could they turne it vp altogither ſo farre to the eaſt, neither did the flood continue ſo long, but the water fell ere they coulde haue paſſed the ſandes, as we after founde by a ſecond experience: ſo as now we muſt either giue ouer our enterprize, or leauing our ſhips at aduenture 400. mile behind vs, to run vp in our ſhips botes, one barge, and two wherries, but being doubtfull how to carrie victuals for ſo long a time in ſuch bables, or any ſtrength of men, eſpecially for that *Berreo* aſſured vs that his ſonne muſt be by that time come downe with many ſoldiers,

diers, I ſent away one *King* maiſter of the *Lions whelpe* with his ſhip bote to trie an other braunch of a riuer in the bottom of the bay of *Guanipa*, which was called *Amana*, to proue if there were water to be found for either of the ſmall ſhips to enter: But when he came to the mouth of *Amana*, he found it as the reſt, but ſtaied not to diſcouer it throughly, becauſe he was aſſured by an Indian his guide that the *Canibales* of *Guanipa* would aſſaile them with many *Canoas*, & that they ſhot poiſonned arrowes, ſo as if he haſted not backe they ſhould all be loſt.

In the mean time fearing the worſt I cauſed all the Carpenters we had to cut down a *Gallego* bote, which we ment to caſt off, and to fit her with banks to row on, and in all thinges to prepare her the beſt they could, ſo as ſhe might be brought to draw but fiue foote, for ſo much we had on the bar of *Capuri* at lowe water. And doubting of *Kings* returne I ſent *Io. Douglas* againe in my long barge, as well to releeue him as alſo to make a perfect ſearch in the bottom of that baie. For it hath beene held for infallable that whatſoeuer ſhip or bote ſhall fall therein, can neuer diſſemboque againe, by reaſon of the violent currant which ſetteth into the ſaide bay, as alſo for that the rbize and eaſterly wind bloweth directly into the ſame, of which opinion I haue heard *Iohn Hampton* of *Plimmouth* one of the greateſt experience of *England*, & diuers others beſides that haue traded *Trinedado*.

I ſent with *Iohn Douglas* and old *Caſſique* of *Trinedado* for a Pilot, who told vs that we could not returne again by the bay or gulfe, but that he knew a by branch which ran within the land to the Eaſtward, and that he

he thought by it we might fall into *Capuri*, and so returne in fower daies: *Iohn Dowglas* searched those riuers, and found fower goodly entrances, whereof the least was as bigge as the *Thames* at *Wolwich*, but in the baie thitherward it was shole and but six foote water, so as we were now without hope of any ship or barke to passe ouer, and therefore resolued to go on with the botes, and the bottome of the *Gallego*, in which we thrust 60. men: In the *Lions whelps* bote and wherie we carried 20. Captaine *Calfield* in his wherrie carried ten more, and in my barge other ten, which made vp a hundred: we had no other meanes but to carrie victuall for a moneth in the same, and also to lodge therein as we could, and to boile and dresse our meat. Captaine *Gifford* had with him Master *Edw. Porter*, captaine *Eynis*, and eight more in his wherrie with all their victuall, weapons, and prouisions: Captain *Calfield* had with him my cosen *But shead Gorges* and eight more. In the galley, of gent. and officers my selfe had captaine *Thin*, my chosen *Iohn Greenuile*, my nephew *Iohn Gilbert*, captaine *Whiddon*, captaine *Keymis*, *Edw. Handcoke*, captaine *Clarke*, lieutenant *Hewes*, *Thg. vpton* captaine *Facy*, *Ierom Ferrar*, *Antho. Wells*, *Will. Connock* and aboue 50. more. We could not learne of *Berreo* any other way to enter but in braunches, so farre to the windeward as it was impossible for vs to recouer: for we had as much sea to crosse ouer in our wherries as betweene *Douer* and *Callis* and in a great billow, the winde and currant being both very strong, so as we were driuen to go in those small botes directly before the winde into the bottome of the baie of *Guanipa*, and from thence to enter the mouth of som

one

one of those riuers, which *Io. Dowglas* had last discouered, and had with vs for Pilote an *Indian* of *Barema*, a riuer to the south of *Orenoque*, betweene that and *Amazones*, whose *Canoas* we had formerly taken as he was going from the said *Barema*, laden with *Cassani* bread to sell at *Margueríta*: this *Arwacan* promised to bring me into the great riuer of *Orenoque*, but indeede of that which he entred he was vtterly ignorant, for he had not seene it in twelue yeeres before, at which time he was very yoong, and of no iudgement, and if God had not sent vs another helpe, we might haue wandred a whole yeere in that laborinth of riuers, ere we had found any way, eyther out or in, especially after we were past ebbing and flowing, which was in fower daies: for I know all the earth doth not yeelde the like confluence of streames and branches, the one crossing the other so many times, and all so faire & large, and so like one to another, as no man can tell which to take: and if we went by the Sun or compasse hoping thereby to go directly one way or other, yet that way we were also caried in a circle amongst multitudes of Ilands, and euery Iland so bordered with high trees, as no man coulde see any further than the bredth of the riuer, or length of the breach: But this it chanced that entring into a riuer, (which bicause it had no name we called the riuer of the *Red crosse*, our selues being the first *Christians* that euer came therein:) the 22. of *May* as we were rowing vp the same, we espied a smal *Canoa* with three *Indians*, which (by the swiftnes of my barge, rowing with eight oares) I ouertooke ere they could crosse the riuer, the rest of the people on the banks shadowed vnder the thicke

thickewood gazed on with a doubtfull conceit what might befall thoſe three which we had taken: But when they perceiued that we offred them no violence neither entred their *Canoa* with any of ours, nor tooke out of the *Canoa* any of their, they then began to ſhew themſelues on the banks ſide, and offred to traffique with vs for ſuch things as they had, and as we drewe neere they all ſtaide, and we came with our barge to the mouth of a little creeke which came from their towne into the great riuer.

As we abode there a while, our Indian Pilot called *Ferdinando* would needs go aſhore to their village to fetch ſome fruites, and to drinke of their artificiall wines, and alſo to ſee the place, and know the Lorde of it againſt another time, and tooke with him a brother of his which he had with him in the iourney: whē they came, to the village of theſe people, the Lord of the Iland offred to lay hands of them purpoſing to haue ſlaine them both, yeelding for reaſon that this Indian of ours had brought a ſtrange nation into their territorie to ſpoyle and deſtroy them: But the Pilot being quicke and of a diſpoſed body ſlipt their fingers & ran into the woods, and his brother being the better footman of the two, recouered the creekes mouth, where we ſtaied in our barge, crying out that his brother was ſlaine, with that we ſet hands on one of them that was next vs, a very old man, and brough him into the barge, aſſuring him that if we had not our Pilot againe, we would preſently cut off his head. This old man being reſolued that he ſhoulde paie the loſſe of the other, cried out to thoſe in the woods to ſaue *Ferdinando* our Pilot, but they followed him notwithſtanding,

ſtanding, and hunted after him vpon the foote with their Deere dogs, and with ſo maine a crie that all the woods eckoed with the ſhoute they made, but at laſt this poore chaſed Indian recouered the riuer ſide, and got vpon a tree, and as we were coaſting, leaped down and ſwam to the barge halfe dead with feare; but our good hap was, that we kept the other olde Indian, which we handfaſted to redeeme our Pilot withall, for being natural of thoſe riuers, we aſſured our ſelues he knew the way better than any ſtranger could, and indeed, but for this chance I thinke we had neuer found the way eyther to *Guiana*, or backe to our ſhips: for *Ferdinando* after a few daies knew nothing at al, nor which way to turne, yea and many times the old man himſelf was in great doubt which riuer to take. Thoſe people which dwel in theſe broken Ilands & drowned lands are generally called *Tiuitiuas*, there are of them two ſortes, the one called *Ciawani*, and the other *Waraweete*.

The great riuer of *Orenoque* or *Baraquan* hath nine branches which fall out on the north ſide of his owne maine mouth: on the ſouth ſide it hath ſeuen other fallings into the ſea, ſo it deſemboketh by 16. armes in all, between Ilands and broken ground, but the Ilands are very greate, many of them as bigge as the Iſle of *Wight* and bigger, and many leſſe: from the firſt branch on the north to the laſt of the ſouth it is at leaſt 100. leagues, ſo as the riuers mouth is no leſſe than 300. miles wide at his entrance into the ſea, which I take to be farre bigger than that of *Amazones*: al thoſe that inhabite in the mouth of this riuer vpon the ſeuerall north branches are theſe *Tiuitiuas*, of which there

are two chiefe Lords which haue continuall warres one with the other: the Ilands which lie on the right hand are called *Pallamos*, and the land on the left *Hororotomaka*, and the riuer by which *Iohn Dowglas* returned within the land from *Amana* to *Capuri*, they call *Macuri*.

Theſe *Tiuitinas* are a verie goodlie people and verie valiant, and haue the moſt manlie ſpeech and moſt deliberate that euer I heard of what nation ſoeuer. In the ſummer they haue houſes on the grounde as in other places: in the winter they dwell vpon the trees, where they build very artificiall townes and villages, as it is written in the Spaniſh ſtorie of the *Weſt Indies*, that thoſe people do in the low lands neere the gulfe of *Vraba*: for betweene *May* and *September* the riuer of *Orenoke* riſeth thirtie foote vpright, and then are thoſe Ilands ouerflowen twentie foot high aboue the leuell of the ground, ſauing ſome few raiſed grounds in the middle of them: and for this cauſe they are enforced to liue in this maner. They neuer eate of anie thing that is ſet or ſowen, and as at home they vſe neither planting nor other manurance, ſo when they come abroad they refuſe to feede of ought, but of that which nature without labor bringeth foorth. They vſe the tops of *Palmitos* for bread, and kil Deere, fiſh and porks for the reſt of their ſuſtenance, they haue alſo manie ſortes of fruites that grow in the woods, and great varietie of birds and foule.

And if to ſpeake of them were not tedious, and vulgare, ſurely we ſawe in thoſe paſſages of very rare colours & forms, not elſewhere to be found, for as much as I haue either ſeen or read. Of theſe people thoſe that

dwell

dwell vpon the branches of *Orenoque* called *Capuri* and *Macureo*, are for the moſt part Carpenters of *Canoas* for they make the moſt and faireſt houſes, and ſell them into *Guiana* for gould, and into *Trinedado* for *Tobacco*, in the exceſſiue taking whereof, they exceed all nations, and notwithſtanding the moiſtnes of the aire in which they liue, the hardnes of their diet, and the great labours they ſuffer to hunt, fiſh, & foule for their liuing in all my life either in the Indies or in Europe did I neuer behold a more goodlie or better fauoured people, or a more manly. They were woont to make warre vpon all nations, and eſpecially on the *Canibals*, ſo as none durſt without a good ſtrength trade by thoſe riuers, but of late they are at peace with their neighbours, all holding the *Spaniards* for a common enimie. When their commaunders die, they vſe greate lamentation, and when they think the fleſh of their bodies is putrified, and fallen from the bones, then they take vp the carcaſe againe, and hang it in the *Caſiquies* houſe that died, and deck his ſcull with feathers of all colours, and hang all his gold plates a boute the bones of his armes, thighes, and legges. Thoſe nations which are called *Arwacas* which dwell on the ſouth of *Orenoque*, (of which place and nation our Indian, Pilot was) are diſperſed in many other places, and do vſe to beate the bones of their Lords into powder, and their wiues and friends drinke it all in their ſeueral ſortes of drinks.

After we departed from the port of theſe *Ciawani*, vve paſſed vp the riuer vvith the flood, & ancored the ebbe, and in this ſort vve vvent onvvard. The third day

that we entred the riuer our *Galley* came on ground and ſtuck ſo faſt, as we thought that euen there our diſcouery had ended, and that we muſt haue left 90. of our men to haue inhabited like rooks vpon trees with thoſe nations: but the next morning, after we had caſt out all her ballaſt, with tugging and hawling to and fro, we got her aflote, and went on: At fower daies ende wee fell into as goodly a riuer as euer I beheld, which was called the great *Amana*, which ran more directly without windings and turnings than the other. But ſoone after the flood of the ſea left vs, and we enforced eyther by maine ſtrength to row againſt a violent currant, or to returne as wiſe as we went out, we had then no ſhift but to perſwade the companies that it was but two or three daies worke, and therfore deſired them to take pains, euery gentleman and others taking their turns to row, and to ſpell one the other at the howers end. Euerie day we paſſed by goodly branches of riuers, ſome falling from the weſt, others from the eaſt into *Amana*, but thoſe I leaue to the diſcription in the *Chart* of diſcouerie, where euery one ſhall be named with his riſing and deſcente. When three daies more were ouergone, our companies began to deſpaire, the weather being extreame hot, the riuer bordered with verie high trees that kept away the aire, and the currant againſt vs euery daie ſtronger than other: But we euermore commaunded our Pilots to promiſe an end the next day, and vſed it ſo long as we were driuen to aſſure them from fower reaches of the riuer to three, and ſo to two, & ſo to the next reach: but ſo long we laboured as many daies were ſpent, and ſo driuen to

draw

draw our ſelues to harder allowance, our breade euen at the laſt, and no drinke at all: and our men and our ſelues ſo wearied and ſcorched, and doubfull withall whether we ſhould euer performe it or no, the heat encreaſing as we drew towards the line, for wee were now in fiue degrees.

The farther we went on (our victuall decreaſing and the aire breeding greate faintnes) we grew weaker and weaker when we had moſt neede of ſtrength and abilitie, for howerlie the riuer ran more violentlie than other againſt vs, and the barge, wheries: and ſhips bote of Captaine *Gifford*, and Captaine *Calfield*, had ſpent all their prouiſions, ſo as wee were brought into deſpaire and diſcomfort, had we not perſwaded all the company that it was but onlie one dayes worke more to attaine the lande where we ſhould be releeued of all we wanted, and if we returned that we were ſure to ſtarue by the way, and that the worlde would alſo laugh vs to ſcorne. On the banks of theſe riuers were diuers ſorts of fruites good to eate, flowers and trees of that varietie as were ſufficient to make ten volumes of herbals, we releeued our ſelues manie times with the fruits of the countrey, and ſomtimes with foule and fiſh: we ſaw birds of all colours, ſome carnation, ſome crimſon, orenge tawny, purple, watchet, and of all other ſortes both ſimple and mixt, as it was vnto vs a greate good paſſing of the time to behould them, beſides the reliefe we found by killing ſome ſtore of them with our fouling peeces, without which, hauing litle or no bread and leſſe drink, but only the thick and troubled water of the riuer, we had been in a very hard caſe.

Our

Our old Pilot of the *Ciawani*(whom, as I ſaide before we tooke to redeeme *Ferdinando*,) told vs, that if we would enter a branch of a riuer on the right hand with our barge and wherries, and leaue the *Galley* at ancor the while in the greate riuer, he would bring vs to a towne of the *Arwacas* where we ſhould finde ſtore of breade, hens, fiſh, and of the countrey wine, and perſwaded vs that departing from the *Galley* at noone, we might returne ere night: I was very glad to heare this ſpeech, and preſently tooke my barke, with eight musketiers, Captain *Giffords* wherrie, with himſelfe & foure musketiers, & Captaine *Calfield* with his wherry and as many, and ſo we entred the mouth of this riuer, and becauſe we were perſwaded that it was ſo neere, we tooke no victuall with vs at all: when we had rowed three howres, we maruailed we ſawe noe ſigne of any dwelling, and aſked the Pilot where the towne was, he told vs a litle farther: after three hours more the *Sun* being almoſt ſet, we began to ſuſpect that he led vs that way to betray vs, for he confeſſed that thoſe Spaniardes which fled from *Trinedado*, and alſo thoſe that remained with *Carapana* in *Emeria*, were ioyned togither in ſome village vpon that riuer. But when it grew towardes night, and we demaunding where the place was, he tolde vs but fower reaches more: when we had rowed fower and fower, we ſaw no ſigne, and our poore water-men euen heart broken, and tired, were ready to giue vp the ghoſt; for we had now come from the *Galley* neer forty miles.

At the laſt we determined to hang the Pilot, and if we had well knowen the way backe againe by night, he

he had ſurely gone, but our owne neceſſities pleaded ſufficiently for his ſafetie: for it was as darke as pitch, and the riuer began ſo to narrowe it ſelfe, and the trees to hang ouer from ſide to ſide, as we were driuen with arming ſwordes to cut a paſſage thorow thoſe branches that couered the water. We were verie deſirous to finde this towne hoping of a feaſt, bicauſe we made but a ſhort breakfaſt aboorde the *Galley* in the morning, and it was nowe eight a clocke at night, and our ſtomackes began to gnawe apace: but whether it was beſt to returne or goe on, we began to doubt ſuſpecting treaſon in the Pilot more and more: but the poore olde Indian euer aſſured vs that it was but a little farther, but this one turning and that turning, and at laſt aboute one a clocke after midnight we ſaw a light, and rowing towardes it, we heard the dogs of the village. When wee landed we found few people, for the Lorde of that place was gone with diuers *Canoas* aboue 400. miles of, vpon a iourney towards the heade of *Orenoque* to trade for golde, and to buy women of the *Canibals*, vvho afterward vnfortunately paſſed by vs as we rode at an ancor in the port of *Morequito* in the dark of night and yet came ſo neer vs, as his *Canoas* grated againſt our barges: he left one of his company at the porte of *Morequito*, by vvhom vve vnderſtood that he had brought thirty yoong vvoomen, diuers plates of gold, and had great ſtore of fine peeces of cotton cloth, and cotton beds. In his houſe vve had good ſtore of bread, fiſh, hens, and Indian drinke, and ſo reſted that night, and in the morning after vve had traded with ſuch of his people as came down, we retuned

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towards our *Galley*, and brought with vs ſome quantity of bread, fiſh, and hens.

On both ſides of this riuer, we paſſed the moſt beautifull country that euer mine eies beheld: and whereas all that we had ſeen before was nothing but woods, prickles, buſhes, and thornes, heere we beheld plaines of twentie miles in length, the graſſe ſhort and greene, and in diuers parts groues of trees by themſelues, as if they had been by all the art and labour in the world ſo made of purpoſe: and ſtil as we rowed, the Deere came downe feeding by the waters ſide, as if they had beene vſed to a keepers cal. Vpon this riuer there were great ſtore of fowle, and of many ſorts: we ſaw in it diuers ſorts of ſtrange fiſhes, & of maruelous bignes, but for *Lagartos* it exceeded, for there were thouſands of thoſe vglie ſerpents, and the people call it for the abundance of them the riuer of *Lagartos*, in their language. I had a *Negro* a very proper yoong fellow, that leaping out of the *Galley* to ſwim in the mouth of this riuer, was in all our ſights taken and deuoured with one of thoſe *Lagartos*. In the mean while our cõpanies in the *Galley* thought we had beene all loſt, (for we promiſed to returne before night) & ſent the *Lions Whelps* ſhips bote with Captaine *VVhiddon* to follow vs vp the riuer, but the next day after we had rowed vp and downe ſome fower ſcore miles, we returned, and went on our way, vp the great riuer, and when we were euen at the laſt caſt for want of victuals, Captaine *Gifford* being before the *Galley*, and the reſt of the botes, ſeeking out ſome place to land vpon the banks to make fire eſpied fower *Canoas* comming downe the liuer, & with no ſmall ioy cauſed his men to trie the vttermoſt of their

ſtrengths

ſtrengths, and after a while two of the 4. gaue ouer, and ran themſelues aſhore, euery man betaking himſelfe to the faſtnes of the woods, the two other leſſer got away, while he landed to lay holde on theſe, and ſo turned into ſome by-creeke, we knew not whither: thoſe *Canoas* that were taken were loden with bread, & were bound for *Marguerita* in the weſt Indies, which thoſe Indians (called *Arwacas*) purpoſed to carrie thither for exchange: But in the leſſer, there were three Spaniards, who hauing heard of the defeat of their gouernour in *Trinedado*, and that we purpoſed to enter *Guiana*, came away in thoſe *Canoas*: one of them was a *Canallero*, as the Captaine of the *Arwacas* after told vs, another a ſouldier, and the third a refiner.

In the meane time, nothing on the earth coulde haue been more welcome to vs next vnto gold, then the great ſtore of very excellent bread which we found in theſe *Canoas*, for now our men cried, let vs go on, we care not how farre. After that Captaine *Gifford* had brought the two *Canoas* to the *Galley*, I tooke my barge, and went to the banks ſide with a dozen ſhot, where the *Canoas* firſt ran themſelues aſhore, and landed there, ſending out Captaine *Gifford* and Captaine *Thyn* on one hand, and Captaine *Calfield* on the other, to follow thoſe that were fled into the woods, and as I was creeping thorow the buſhes, I ſaw an Indian baſket hidden, which was the refiners basket, for I found in it, his quickſiluer, ſaltpeter, and diuers things for the triall of mettels, and alſo the duſt of ſuch ore as he had refined, but in thoſe *Canoas* which eſcaped there was a good quantity of ore and gold. I then landed more men, and offered 500. pound to what ſouldier ſoeuer

could take one of thoſe 3. Spaniards that we thought were landed. But our labours were in vaine in that behalfe, for they put themſelues into one of the ſmall *Canoas*: and ſo while the greater *Canoas* were in taking, they eſcaped: but ſeeking after the Spaniardes, we found the *Arwacas* hidden in the woods which were pilots for the Spaniardes, and rowed their *Canoas*: of which I kept the chiefeſt for a Pilot, and carried him with me to *Guiana*, by whom I vnderſtood, where and in what countries the Spaniards had labored for gold, though I made not the ſame knowen to all: for when the ſprings began to breake, and the riuers to raiſe themſelues ſo ſuddenly as by no meanes we could abide the digging of anie mine, eſpecially for that the richeſt are defended with rocks of hard ſtones, which we call the *White ſpar*, and that it required both time, men, and inſtruments fit for ſuch a worke, I thought it beſt not to houer thereabouts, leaſt if the ſame had been perceiued by the company, there would haue bin by this time many barks & ſhips ſet out, & perchance other nations would alſo haue gotten of ours for Pilots, ſo as both our ſelues might haue been preuented, & al our care taken for good vſage of the people bin vtterly loſt, by thoſe that onely reſpect preſent profit, and ſuch violence or inſolence offered, as the nations which are borderers would haue changed their deſire of our loue and defence, into hatred and violence. And for any longer ſtay to haue brought a more quantity (which I heare hath bin often obiected) whoſoeuer had ſeene or prooued the fury of that riuer after it began to ariſe, and had been a moneth and od daies as we were frō hearing ought frō our ſhips, leauing

uing them meanely mand, 400. miles off, would perchance haue turned ſomwhat ſooner than we did, if all the mountains had beene gold, or rich ſtones: And to ſay the truth all the branches and ſmal riuers which fell into *Orenoque* were raiſed with ſuch ſpeede, as if wee waded them ouer the ſhooes in the morning outward, we were couered to the ſhoulders homewarde the very ſame day: and to ſtay to dig out gold with our nailes, had beene *Opus laboris* but not *Ingenij*: ſuch a quantitie as would haue ſerued our turnes we could not haue had, but a diſcouery of the mines to our infinite diſaduantage we had made, and that could haue been the beſt profit of farther ſearch or ſtay, for thoſe mines are not eaſily broken, nor opened in haſt, and I could haue returned a good quantitie of gold readie caſt, if I had not ſhot at another marke, than preſent profit.

This *Arwacan* Pilot with the reſt, fearing that we would haue eaten them, or otherwiſe haue put thē to ſome cruell death, for the Spaniards to the end that none of the people in the paſſage towards *Guiana* or in *Guiana* it ſelfe might come to ſpeech with vs, perſwaded all the nations, that we were men eaters, and *Canibals:* but when the poore men & women had ſeen vs, and that we gaue them meate, and to euery one ſomthing or other, which was rare and ſtrange to them, they began to conceiue the deceit and purpoſe of the *Spaniards*, who indeed (as they confeſſed) tooke from them both their wiues, and daughters daily, and vſed them for the ſatisfying of their owne luſts, eſpecially ſuch as they tooke in this manner by ſtrength. But I proteſt before the maieſtie of the liuing God, that I

neither know nor beleeue, that any of our companie one or other, by violence or otherwiſe, euen knew any of their women, and yet we ſaw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of thoſe very yoong, & excellently fauoured which came among vs without deceit, ſtarke naked.

Nothing got vs more loue amongſt them then this vſage, for I ſuffered not any man to take from any of the nations ſo much as a *Pina*, or a *Potato* roote, without giuing them contentment, nor any man ſo much as to offer to touch any of their wiues or daughters: which courſe ſo contrary to the Spaniards (who tyrannixe ouer them in all things) drew them to admire her Maieſtie, whoſe cõmaundement I told thẽ it was, and alſo wonderfully to honour our nation.

But I confeſſe it was a very impatient worke to keep the meaner ſort from ſpoile and ſtealing, when we came to their houſes, which bycauſe in all I could not preuent, I cauſed my Indian interpreter at euery place when we departed, to know of the loſſe or wrong don, and if ought were ſtolen or taken by violence, either the ſame was reſtored, and the partie puniſhed in their ſight, or elſe was paid for to their vttermoſt demand.

They alſo much woondred at vs, after they heard that we had ſlaine the Spaniards at *Trinedado*, for they were before reſolued, that no nation of *Chriſtians* durſt abide their preſence, and they woondred more when I had made them know of the great ouerthrow that hir Maieſties armie and fleet had giuen them of late yeers in their owne countries.

After we had taken in this ſupply of bread, with diuers baskets of rootes which were excellent meate, I

gaue

gaue one of the *Canoas* to the *Arwacas*, which belonged to the Spaniards that were escaped, and when I had dismissed all but the Captaine (who by the *Spaniards* was christined *Martin*) I sent back in the same *Canoa* the old *Ciawan*, and *Ferdinando* my first Pilot, and gaue them both such things as they desired, with sufficient victuall to cary them backe: and by them wrote a letter to the ships, which they promised to deliuer, and performed it, and then I went on', with my new hired Pilot *Martin* the *Arwacan*: but the next or second day after, we came aground again with our galley, and were like to cast her away, with all our victuall and prouision, and so lay on the sand one whole night and were farre more in despaire at this time to free hir then before, because we had no tide of flood to helpe vs, and therefore feared that all our hopes wold haue ended in mishaps: but we fastened an ancor vpon the land, and with maine strength drew her off: & so the 15. day we discouered a farre off the mountains of *Guiana* to our greate ioy, and towards the euening had a slent of a northerly wind that blew very strong, which brought vs in sight of the greate riuer of *Orenoque*; out of which this riuer descended wherein we were: we discried a farre off three other *Canoas* as far as we could descerne them, after whome we hastened with our barge and wherries, but two of them passed out of sight, and the third entred vp the greate riuer, on the right hand to the westward, & there staied out of sight, thinking that we meant to take the way eastward towards the prouince of *Carapana*, for that way the Spaniards keepe, not daring to go vpwardes to *Guiana*, the people in those partes being all their enimies,

enimies, and thoſe in the *Canoas* thought vs to haue bene thoſe Spaniards that were fled from *Trinedado*, and had eſcaped killing: and when we came ſo farre downe as the opening of that braunch into which they ſlipped, being neare them with our barge and wherries, we made after them, and ere they could land, came within call, and by our interpreter tolde them what we were, wherewith they came back willingly aboord vs: and of ſuch fiſh and *Tortugas* egges as they had gathered, they gaue vs, and promiſed in the morning to bring the Lord of that part with them, and to do vs all other ſeruices they could.

That night we came to an ankor at the parting of three goodly riuers (the one was the riuer of *Amana* by which we came from the north, and ran athwart towards the ſouth, the other two were of *Orenoque* which croſſed from the weſt and ran to the ſea towardes the eaſt) and landed vpon a faire ſand, where we founde thouſands of *Tortugas* egges, which are very wholſome meat, and greatly reſtoring, ſo as our men were now well filled and highly contented both with the fare, and neerenes of the land of *Guiana* which appeared in ſight. In the morning there came down according to promiſe the Lord of that border called *Toparimaca*, withſome thirtie or fortte followers, and brought vs diuers ſorts of fruits, & of his wine, bread, fiſh, and fleſh, whom we alſo feaſted as we could, at leaſt he dranke good Spaniſh wine (whereof we had a ſmall quantitie in bottles) which aboue al things they loue. I conferred with this *Toparimaca* of the next way to *Guiana*, who conducted our galley and botes to his owne port, and caried vs from thence ſome mile

mile and a halfe to his towne, vvhere ſome of our captaines garouſed of his wine till they were reaſonable pleaſant, for it is very ſtrong with pepper, & the iuice of diuers herbs, and fruits digeſted and purged, they keepe it in great earthen pots of ten or twelue gallons verie cleane and ſweete, and are themſelues at their meetings and feaſts the greateſt garouſers and drunkards of the world: when we came to his towne we founde two *Caſſiques*, whereof one of them was a ſtranger that had beene vp the riuer in trade, and his boates, people, and wife incamped at the porte where we ankored, and the other was of that countrey a follower of *Toparimaca*: they lay each of them in a cotten *Hamaca*, which we call braſill beds, & two women attending them with ſix cups and a litle ladle to fill them, out of an earthen pitcher of wine, and ſo they drank each of them three of thoſe cups at a time one to the other, and in this ſort they drinke drunke at their feaſts and meetings.

That *Caſſique* that was a ſtranger had his wife ſtaying at the port where we ancored, and in all my life I haue ſeldome ſeene a better fauored woman: She was of good ſtature, with blacke eies, fat of bodie, of an excellent countenance, her haire almoſt as long as hir ſelfe, tied vp againe in prettie knots, and it ſeemed ſhe ſtood not in that aw of her husband, as the reſt, for ſhe ſpake and diſcourſt, and dranke among the gentlemen and captaines, and was very pleaſant, knowing her owne comelines, and taking great pride therein. I haue ſeene a Lady in England ſo like to her, as but for the difference of colour I would haue ſworne might haue beene the ſame.

The ſeat of this towne of *Toparimaca* was very pleaſant, ſtanding on a little hill, in an excellent proſpect, with goodly gardens a mile compaſſe rounde about it, and two verie faire and large ponds of excellent fiſh adioyning. This towne is called *Arowocai*: the people are of the nation called *Nepoios*, and are followers of *Carapana*. In that place I ſawe very aged people, that we might perceiue all their ſinewes and veines without any fleſh, and but euen as a caſe couered onely with skin. The Lord of this place gaue me an old man for Pilot, who was of great experience & trauell, and knew the riuer moſt perfectly both by day and night, and it ſhall be requiſite for any man that paſſeth it to haue ſuch a Pilot, for it is fower, fiue, and ſix miles ouer in many places, and twentie miles in other places, with wonderfull eddies, and ſtrong currants, many great Ilands and diuers ſholds, and many dangerous rocks, and beſides vpon any iucreaſe of winde ſo greate a bilbow, as we were ſomtimes in great perill of drowning in the galley, for the ſmall botes durſt not come from the ſhore, but when it was verie faire.

The next day we haſted thence, and hauing an eaſterly wind to helpe vs, we ſpared our arms from rowing: for after we entred *Orenoque*, the riuer lieth for the moſt part eaſt and weſt, euen from the ſea vnto *Quinto* in *Peru*. This riuer is nauigable vvith ſhips little leſſe than 1000. miles, and from the place vvhere vve entred it may be ſailed vp in ſmall pinaces to many of the beſt parts of *Nueuo reyno de granada*, and of *Popayan*: and from no place may the cities of theſe parts of the Indies be ſo eaſilie taken and inuaded as from hence.

All

All that day we ſailed vp a branch of that riuer, hauing on the left hand a great Iland, which they cal *Aſſapana* which may containe ſome fiue and twentie miles in length, & 6. miles in breadth, the great body of the riuer running on the other ſide of this Iland: Beyond that middle branch there is alſo another Iland in the riuer, called *Iwana*, which is twiſe as big as the Iſle of *Wight*, and beyond it, and betweene it and the maine of *Guiana*, runneth a third branch of *Orenoque* called *Arraroopana*: all three are goodly branches, and all nauigable for great ſhips. I iudge the riuer in this place to be at leaſt thirtie miles brode, reckoning the Ilands which deuide the branches in it, for afterwards I ſought alſo both the other branches.

After we reached to the head of the Iland, called *Aſſapana*, a little to the weſtward on the right hand there opened a riued which came from the north, called *Europa*, and fell into the great riuer & beyond it, on the ſame ſide, we ankored for that night, by another Iland ſix miles long, and two miles brode, which they call *Ocaywita*: From hence in the morning we landed two *Guianians*, which we found in the towne of *Toparimaca*, that came with vs, who went to giue notice of our comming to the Lord of that countrey called *Putyma*, a follower of *Topiawari*, chiefe Lord of *Arromaia*, who ſucceded *Morequito*, whom (as you haue heard before) *Berreo* put to death, but his towne being farre within the land, he came not vnto vs that day, ſo as we ankored againe that night neere the bankes of another Iland, of bignes much like the other, which they call *Putapayma*, on the maine lande, ouer againſt which Iland was a very high mountain called *Oecope*:

we coueted to ankor rather by theſe Ilands in the riuer, than by the maine, becauſe of the *Tortugas* egges, which our people found on them in great abundance & alſo becauſe the ground ſerued better for vs to caſt our nets for fiſh, the maine banks being for the moſt part ſtony and high, & the rocks of a blew metalline colo ur, like vnto the beſt ſteele ore, which I aſſuredly take it to be: of the ſame blew ſtone are alſo diuers great mountaines, which border this riuer in many places.

The next morning towards nine of the clocke, we weyed ankor, & the brize encreaſing, we ſailed alwaies weſt vp the riuer, and after a while opening the land on the right ſide, the countrey appeered to be champaine, and the banks ſhewed very perfect red: I therefore ſent two of the little barges with captaine *Gifford* and with him captaine *Thyn*, captaine *Calfield*, my coſen *Greennile*, my nephew *Io. Gilbert*, captaine *Eynus*, maſter *Edw. Porter*, and my coſen *Butſhead Gorges*, with ſome fewe ſoldiers, to march ouer the bankes of that red land, and to diſcouer what maner of countrey it was on the other ſide, who at their returne found it all a plaine leuel, as farre as they went or could diſcerne, from the higheſt tree they could get vpon: And my old Pilot, a man of great trauell brother to the *Caſſique Toparimica* told me, that thoſe were called the plaines of the *Sayma*, and that the ſame leuell reached to *Cumana*, and *Carracas* in the weſt Indies, which are 120. leagues to the north, and that there inhabited fower principall nations. The firſt were the *Sayma*, the next *Aſſawai*, the third and greateſt the *Wikiri*, by whom *Pedro Hernandez de Serpa* before mentioned was ouer-

throwen, as he paſſed with three hundred horſe from *Cumana* towardes *Orenoque*, in his enterprize of *Guiana*, the fourth are called *Aroras*, and are as blacke as *Negros*, but haue ſmooth haire, and theſe are very valiant, or rather deſperate people, and haue the moſt ſtrong poiſon on their arrowes, and moſt dangerous of all nations, of which poiſon I will ſpeake ſomwhat being a digreſſion not vnneceſſarie.

There was nothing whereof I was more curious, than to finde out the true remedies of theſe poiſoned arrowes, for beſides the mortalitie of the wound they make, the partie ſhot indureth the moſt inſufferable torment in the world, and abideth a moſt vgly and lamentable death, ſomtimes dying ſtarke mad, ſomtimes their bowels breaking out of their bellies: and are preſently diſcolored, as blacke as pitch, and ſo vnſauery, as no man can endure to cure, or to attende them: And it is more ſtrange to know, that in al this time there was neuer Spaniard, either by gift or torment that could attaine to the true knowledge of the cure, although they haue martired and put to inuented torture I know not how many of them. But euery one of theſe Indians know it not, no not one among thouſands, but their ſouthſaires and prieſtes, who do conceile it, and only teach it but from the father to the ſonne.

Thoſe medicines which are vulgar, and ſerue for the ordinarie poiſon, are made of the iuice of a roote called *Tupara*: the ſame alſo quencheth maruellouſly the heart of burning feauers, and healeth inward wounds, and broken veines, that bleed within the body. But I was more beholding to the *Guianians* than any other,

for *Anthonio de Berreo* told me that he could neuer attaine to the knowledge thereof, & yet they taught me the beſt way of healing as well thereof, as of al other poiſons. Some of the Spaniards haue been cured in ordinary wounds, of the common poiſoned arrowes with the iuice of garlike: but this is a generall rule for all mẽ that ſhall herafter trauell the Indies where poiſoned arrows are vſed, that they muſt abſtaine from drinke, for if they take any licor into their body as they ſhall be maruellouſly prouoked therevnto by drought, I ſay, if they drink before the wound be dreſſed, or ſoon vpon it, there is no way with thẽ but preſent death.

And ſo I will returne again to our iourney which for this third day we finiſhed, and caſt ancor againe neere the continent, or the left hand betweene two mountains, the one called *Aroami*, and the other *Aio*: I made no ſtay heere but till midnight, for I feared howerly leaſt any raine ſhould fall, and then it had beene impoſſible to haue gone any further vp, notwithſtanding that there is euery day a very ſtrong brize, and eaſterly winde. I deferred the ſearch of the country on *Guiana* ſide, till my returne downe the riuer. The next day we ſailed by a great Iland, in the midle of the riuer, called *Manoripano*, and as wee walked a while on the Iland, while the *Galley* got a heade of vs, there came from vs from the maine, a ſmall *Canoa* with ſeuen or eight *Guianians*, to inuite vs to ancor at their port, but I deferred till my returne, It was that *Caſſique* to whõ thoſe *Nepoios* went, which came with vs from the towne of *Toparimica*: and ſo the fift day we reached as high vp as the Prouince of *Arromaia* the countrey of *Morequito* whom *Berreo* executed,

executed, and ankored to the west of an Iland called *Murrecotima*, ten miles long and fiue brode: and that night the *Cassique Aramiary*, (to whose towne we made our long and hungry voyag out of the riuer of *Amana*) passed by vs.

The next day we ariued at the port of *Morequito*, and ancored there, sending away one of our Pilots to seeke the king of *Aromaia*, vncle to *Morequito* slaine by *Berreo* as aforesaide. The next day following, before noone he came to vs on foote from his house, which was 14. English miles, himselfe being 110. yers old) and returned on foote the same day, & with him many of the borderers, with many women & children, that came to woonder at our nation, and to bring vs down victuall, which they did in great plenty, as venison, porke, hens, chickens, foule, fish, with diuers sorts of excellent fruites, and rootes, & great abundance of *Pinas*, the princes of fruits, that grow vnder the *Sun*, especially those of *Guiana*. They brought vs also store of bread, and of their wine, & a sort of *Paraquitos*, no bigger than wrens, and of all other sortes both small and greate: one of them gaue me a beast called by the Spaniards *Armadilla*, which they call *Cassacam*, which seemeth to be all barred ouer with small plates somewhat like to a *Renocero*, with a white horne growing in his hinder parts, as big as a great hunting horne, which they vse to winde in steede of a trumpet. *Monardus* writeth that a litle of the powder of that horn put into the eare, cureth deafnes.

After this old king had rested a while in a little tent, that I caused to be set vp, I began by my interpretor to discourse with him of the death of *Morequito*

requito his predeceſſor, and afterward of the Spaniards, and ere I went any farther I made him knowe the cauſe of my comming thither, whoſe ſeruant I was, and that the Queenes pleaſure was, I ſhould vndertake the voiage for their defence, and to deliuer them from the tyranny of the Spaniardes, dilating at large, (as I had done before to thoſe of *Trinedado*) her Maieſties greatenes, her iuſtice, her charitie to all oppreſſed nations, with as many of the reſt of her beauties and vertues, as either I could expreſſe, or they conceiue, all which being with greate admiration attentiuely heard, and maruelouſly admired, I began to ſound the olde man as touching *Guiana*, and the ſtate thereof, what ſort of common wealth it was, how gouerned, of what ſtrength and pollicy, how farre it extended, and what nations were friendes or enimies adioyning, and finally of the diſtance, and way to enter the ſame: he told me that himſelfe and his people with all thoſe downe the riuer towardes the ſea, as farre as *Emeria*, the Prouince of *Carapana*, were of *Guiana*, but that they called themſelues, *Orenoqueponi*, and that all the nations betweene the riuer and thoſe mountaines in ſight called *Wacarima*, were of the ſame caſt and appellation: and that on the other ſide of thoſe mountaines of *Wacarima* there was a large plaine (which after I diſcouered in my returne) called the valley of *Amariocapana*, in all that valley the people were alſo of the ancient *Guianians*. I aſked what nations thoſe were which inhabited on the further ſide of thoſe mountains, beyond the valley of

Amariocapana,

Amariocapana, he answered with a great sigh (as a man which had inward feeling of the losse of his country and liberty, especially for that his eldest sonne was slain in a battell on that side of the mountaines, whom he most entirely loued, that he remembred in his fathers life time when he was verie old, and himselfe a yoong man that there came down into that large valley of *Guiana*, a nation from so far off as the *Sun* slept, (for such were his own words,) with so great a multitude as they could not be numbred nor resisted. & that they wore large coates, and hats of crimson colour, which colour he expressed, by shewing a peece of red wood, wherewith my tent was supported, and that they were called *Oreiones*, and *Epuremei*, those that had slaine and rooted out so many of the ancient people as there were leaues in the wood vpon al the trees, and had now made themselues Lords of all, euen to that mountaine foot called *Curaa*, sauing onely of two nations, the one called *Awarawaqueri*, and the other *Cassipagotos*, and that in the last battel fought between the *Epuremei*, & the *Iwarawaqueri*, his eldest son was chosen to carry to the aide of the *Iwarawaqueri*, a greate troupe of the *Orenoqueponi*, and was there slaine with al his people & friends, and that he had now remaning but one sonne: and farther told me that those *Epuremei* had built a great town called *Macuregurai* at the said mountaine foote, at the beginning of the great plaines of *Guiana*, which haue no ende: and that their houses haue many roomes, one ouer the other, and that therein the great king of the *Oreiones* and *Epuremei* kept three thousand men to defend the borders against them, and withall daily to inuade and slaie them:

them: but that of late yeares ſince the Chriſtians offred to inuade his territories, and thoſe frontires, they were all at peace, and traded one with another, ſauing onely the *Iwarawaqueri*, and thoſe other nations vpon the head of the riuer of *Caroli*, called *Caſſipagotos*, which we afterwards diſcouered, each one holding the *Spaniard* for a common enemie.

After he had anſwered thus far, he deſired leaue to depart, ſaying that he had far to go, that he was old, & weake, and was euery day called for by death, which was alſo his owne phraſe: I deſired him to reſt with vs that night, but I could not intreat him, but he told me that at my returne from the countrie aboue, he would againe come to vs, and in the meane time prouide for vs the beſt he could, of all that his countrey yeelded: the ſame night hee returned to *Orocotona* his owne towne, ſo as he went that day 28. miles, the weather being very hot, the countrie being ſituate betweene 4. and 5. degrees of the *Equinoctiall*. This *Topiawari* is held for the prowdeſt, and wiſeſt of al the *Orenoqueponi* and ſo he behaued himſelfe towards me in all his anſwers at my returne, as I maruelled to finde a man of that grauity and iudgement, and of ſo good diſcourſe, that had no helpe of learning nor breed.

The next morning we alſo left the port, and ſailed weſtward vp to the riuer, to view the famous riuer called *Caroli*, as well bicauſe it was maruellous of it ſelfe, as alſo for that I vnderſtood it led to the ſtrongeſt nations of all the frontires, that were enemies to the *Epuremei*, which are ſubiects to *Inga*, Emperor of *Guiana*, and *Monoa*, and that night we ankored at another Iland called *Caiama*, of ſome fiue or ſixe miles

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in length, and the next day ariued at the mouth of *Caroli*, when we were ſhort of it as low or further down as the port of *Morequito* we heard the great rore and fall of the riuer, but when we came to enter with our barge and wherries thinking to haue gone vp ſome fortie miles to the nations of the *Caſſipagotos*, we were not able with a barge of eight oares to row one ſtones caſt in an hower, and yet the riuer is as broad as the Thames at Wolwich, and we tried both ſides, and the middle, and euery part of the riuer, ſo as we incamped vpon the bankes adioyning, and ſent off our *Orenequepone* (which came with vs from *Morequito*) to giue knowledge to the nations vpon the riuer of our being there, and that we deſired to ſee the Lords of *Canuria*, which dwelt within the prouince vpon that riuer making them know that we were enemies to the Spaniards, (for it was on this riuer ſide that *Morequito* ſlew the *Frier*, and thoſe nine Spaniards which came from *Manoa*, the Citie of *Inga*, and tooke from them 40000. peſoes of Golde (ſo as the next daie there came downe a Lorde or *Caſsique* called *Wanuretona* with many people with him, and brought all ſtore of prouiſions to entertaine vs, as the reſt had done. And as I had before made my comming knowne to *Topiawari*, ſo did I acquaint this *Caſsique* therewith, and how I was ſent by her Maieſty for the purpoſe aforeſaid, and gathered alſo what I could of him touching the eſtate of *Guiana*, and I founde that thoſe alſo of *Caroli* were not onely enemies to the Spaniardes but moſt of all to the *Epuremei*, which abound in Golde, and by this *Warunetona*, I had knowledge that on the heade of this riuer were three mightie nations,

which were ſeated on a great lake, from whence this riuer deſcended, and were called *Caſſipagotos*, *Eparagotos*, and *Arawagotos*, and that all thoſe eyther againſt the Spaniardes, or the *Epuremei* would ioine with vs, & that if we entred the lande ouer the mountaines of *Curaa*, wee ſhould ſatisfie our ſelues with golde and all other good thinges: hee tolde vs farther of a nation called *Iwarawaqueri* before ſpoken off, that held daily warre with the *Epuremei* that inhabited *Macureguarai* the firſt ciuill towne pf *Guiana*, of the ſubiectes of *Inga* the Emperour.

Vpon this riuer one Captaine *George*, that I tooke with *Berreo* tolde me there was a greate ſiluer mine, and that it was neere the banckes of the ſaide riuer. But by this time as well *Orenoque*, *Caroli*, and all the reſt of the riuers were riſen fowre or fiue foote in height, ſo as it was not poſſible by the ſtrength of any men, or with any boate whatſoeuer to rowe into the riuer againſt the ſtreame. I therefore ſent Captain *Thyn*, Captaine *Greenuile*, my nephew *Iohn Gylbert*, my coſen *Butſhead Gorges*, Captaine *Clarke*, and ſome 30. ſhot more to coaſt the riuer by lande, and to goe to a towne ſome twentie miles ouer the valley called *Amnatapoi*, and they found guides there, to goe farther towardes the mountaine foote to another great towne, called *Capurepana*, belonging to a *Caſſique* called *Haharacoa* (that was a nephew to old *Topiawari* king of *Arromaia* our chiefeſt friend) becauſe this towne and prouince of *Capurepnna* adioyned to *Macureguarai*, which was a frontier towne of the Empire: and the meane while my ſelfe with Captaine *Gifford*, Captaine *Calfield*, *Edw. Hancocke*, & ſome halfe a doſen ſhot

marched

marched ouer land to view the ſtrange ouerfalls of the riuer of *Caroli* which rored ſo farre of, & alſo to ſee the plaines, adioyning and the reſt of the prouince of *Canuri*: I ſent alſo captaine *Whiddon*, *W. Connocke* & ſom eight ſhot with them, to ſee if they coulde finde any minerall ſtone alongſt the riuer ſide. When we ronne to the tops of the firſt hils of the plaines adioyning to the riuer, we beheld that wonderfull breach of waters, which ranne downe *Caroli*: and might from that mountaine ſee the riuer how it ran in thre parts, aboue twentie miles of, and there appeared ſom ten or twelue ouerfals in ſight, euery one as high ouer the other as a Church tower, which fell with that fury, that the rebound of water made it ſeeme, as if it had beene all couered ouer with a greate ſhower of raine: and in ſome places we took it at the firſt for a ſmoke that had riſen ouer ſome greate towne. For mine owne part I was well perſwaded from thence to haue returned, being a very ill footeman, but the reſt were all ſo deſirous to go neere the ſaide ſtrange thunder of waters, as they drew mee on by little and litle, til we came into the next valley where we might better diſcerne the ſame. I neuer ſaw a more beawtifull countrey, nor more liuely proſpectes, hils ſo raiſed heere and there ouer the vallies, the riuer winding into diuers braunches, the plaines adioyning without buſh or ſtubble, all faire greene graſſe, the ground of hard ſand eaſie to march on, eyther for horſe or foote, the deare croſſing in euery path, the birds towards the euening ſinging on euery tree with a thouſand ſeuerall tunes, cranes & herons of white, crimſon, and carnation pearching in the riuers ſide, the ayre freſh with a gentle

eaſterly wind, and euery ſtone that we ſtooped to take vp, promiſed eyther gold or ſiluer by his complexion. Your L. ſhall ſee of many ſortes, and I hope ſome of them cannot be bettered vnder the ſunne, and yet we had no meanes but with our daggers and fingers to teare them out heere and there, the rockes being moſt hard of that minerall ſparre aforeſaid, and is like a flint, and is altogether as hard or harder, and beſides the veines like a fathome or two deepe in the rockes. But we wanted all thinges requiſite ſaue only our deſires, and good will to haue performed more if it had pleaſed God. To be ſhorte when both our companies returned, each of them brought alſo ſeueral ſorts of ſtones that appeared very faire, but were ſuch as they found looſe on the ground, & were for the moſt part but cullored, and had not any gold fixed in them, yet ſuch as had no iudgement or experience kept all that gliſtered, and would not be perſwaded but it was rich becauſe of the luſtre, and brought of thoſe, and of *Marqueſite* with all, from *Trinedado*, and haue deliuered of thoſe ſtones to be tried in many places, and haue thereby bred an opinion that all the reſt is of the ſame: yet ſome of theſe ſtones I ſhewed afterward to a Spaniard of the *Caracas* who told me that it was *El Madre deloro*, and that the mine was farther in the ground. But it ſhall be found a weake policie in mee, eyther to betray my ſelfe, or my Countrey with imaginations, neyther am I ſo farre in loue with that lodging, watching, care, perill, diſeaſes, ill ſauoures, bad fare, and many other miſchiefes that accompany theſe voiages, as to woo my ſelfe againe into any of them, were I not aſſured that the ſunne couereth

not

not ſo much riches in any part of the earth. Captaine *Whiddon*, and our Chirurgion *Nich. Millechap* brought me a kinde of ſtons like *Saphires*, what they may proue I knowe not, I ſhewed them to ſome of the *Orenoqueponi*, and they promiſed to bring me to a mountaine, that had of them verye large peeces growing Diamond wiſe: whether it be Chriſtall of the mountaine, *Briſtoll Diamond* or *Saphire* I doe not yet knowe, but I hope the beſt, ſure I am that the place is as likely as thoſe from whence all the rich ſtones are brought, and in the ſame height or very neare. On the left hand of this riuer *Caroli* are ſeated thoſe nations which are called *Iwarawakeri* before remembred, which are enimies to the *Epuremei*: and on the heade of it adioyning to the greate lake *Caſſipa*, are ſituate thoſe other nations which alſo reſiſt *Inga*, and the *Epuremei*, called *Caſſepagotos*, *Eparegotos*, and *Arrawagotos*. I farther vnderſtoode that this lake of *Caſſipa* is ſo large, as it is aboue one daies iourney for one of their *Canoas* to croſſe, which may be ſome 40. miles, and that therin fall diuers riuers, and that greate ſtore of graines of Golde are found in the ſummer time when the lake falleth by the banckes, in thoſe branches. There is alſo another goodly riuer beyond *Caroli* which is called *Arui*, which alſo runneth thorow the lake *Caſſipa*, and falleth into *Orenoque* father weſt, making al that land between *Caroli* & *Arui* an Iland, which is likwiſe a moſt beawtifull countrey. Next vnto *Arui* there are two riuers *Atoica* and *Caera*, and on that braunch which is called *Caora*, are a nation of people, whoſe heades appeare not aboue their ſhoulders, which though it may be thought a meere fable, yet for mine

owne part I am reſolued it is true, becauſe euery child in the prouinces of *Arromaia* and *Canuri* affirme the ſame: they are called *Ewaipanoma*: they are reported to haue their eyes in their ſhoulders, and their mouths in the midle of their breaſts,& that a long train of hair groweth backward between their ſhoulders. The ſon of *Topiawari*, which I brought with me into England told me that they are the moſt mightie men of all the lande, and vſe bowes, arrowes, and clubs thrice as bigge as any of *Guiana*, or of the *Orenoqueponi*, and that one of the *Iwarawakeri* tooke a priſoner of them the yere before our ariuall there, and brought him into the borders of *Arromaia* his fathers Countrey: And farther when I ſeemed to doubt of it, hee tolde me that it was no wonder among them, but that they were as greate a nation, and as common, as any other in all the prouinces, and had of late yeares ſlaine manie hundreds of his fathers people, and of other nations their neighbours, but it was not my chaunce to heare of them til I was come away, and if I had but ſpoken one word of it while I was there, I might haue brought one of them with me to put the matter out of doubt. Such a nation was written of by *Maundeuile*, whoſe reportes was holden for fables many yeres, and yet ſince the Eaſt *Indies* were diſcouered, wee finde his relations true of ſuch things as heeretofore were held incredible: whether it be true or no the matter is not greate, neither can there be any profit in the imagination, for mine owne part I ſaw them not, but I am reſolued that ſo many people did not all combine, or forthinke to make the report.

When I came to *Cumana* in the weſt *Indies* afterwards by

by chaunce I ſpake with a ſpaniard dwelling not farre from thence, a man of great trauell, and after he knew that I had beene in *Guiana*, and ſo farre directly weſt as *Caroli*, the firſt queſtion he asked me whether I had ſeene anie of the *Ewaipanoma*, which are thoſe without heades: who being eſteemed a moſt honeſt man of his word, and in all thinges elſe, told me that he had ſeene many of them: I may not name him becauſe it may be for his diſaduantage, but he is well knowen to *Monſier Mucherons* ſonne of London, and to *Peter Mucheron* marchant of the *Flemiſh* ſhippe that was there in trade, who alſo heard what he auowed to be true of thoſe people. The fourth riuer to the weſt of *Caroli* is *Caſnero* which falleth into *Orenoque* on this ſide of *Amapaia*, and that riuer is greater then *Danubius*, or any of *Europe*: it riſeth on the ſouth of *Guiana* from the mountaines which deuide *Guiana* from *Amazones*, and I thinke it to be nauigable many hundred miles: but we had no time, meanes, nor ſeaſon of the yeare, to ſearch thoſe riuers for the cauſes afore ſaid, the winter being come vpon vs, although the winter & ſummer as touching cold & heat differ not, neither do the trees euer ſencible loſe their leaues, but haue alwaies fruit eyther ripe or green, & moſt of thē both bloſſoms, leaues, ripe fruit, & green at one time: But their winter onely conſiſteth of terrible raynes, and ouerflowing of the riuers, with manie greate ſtormes and guſtes, thunder, and lightnings, of which we had our fill, ere we returned. On the North ſide, the firſt riuer that falleth into *Orenoque* is *Cari*, beyond it on the ſame ſide is the riuer of *Limo*, between theſe two is a great nation of *Canibals*, and their chiefe

chiefe towne beareth the name of the riuer and is called *Acamacari*: at this towne is a continuall markette of womē for 3. or 4. hatchets a peece, they are brought by the *Arwacas*, and by them ſolde into the weſt Indies. To the weſt of *Limo* is the riuer *Pao*, beyond it *Caturi*, beyond that *Voari* and *Capuri* which falleth out of the great riuer of *Meta*, by which *Berreo* deſcended from *Nueuo reyno de granada*. To the weſtward of *Capuri* is the prouince of *Amapaia*, where *Berreo* wintered, and had ſo many of his people poyſoned with the tawny water of the marſhes of the *Anebas*, Aboue *Amapaiea* towarde *Nueuo reyno* fall in, *Meta*, *pato*, and *Caſſanar*: to the weſt of thoſe towards the prouinces of the *Aſhaguas & Catetios* are the riuers of *Beta*, *Dawney*, and *Vbarro*, and towardes the frontyer of *Peru* are the prouinces of *Thomebamba*. and *Caximalta*: adioyning to *Quito* in the North of *Peru* are the riuers of *Guiacar* and *Goauar*: and on the other ſide of the ſaide mountaines the riuer of *Papamene* which deſcendeth into *Maragnon or Amazones* paſſing through the prouince of the *Mutylones* where *Don Pedro de Oſua* who was ſlaine by the traytour *Agiri* before rehearſed, built his *Briggandines*, when he ſought *Guiana* by the waie of *Amazones*. Betweene *Dawney* and *Beta* lieth a famous Iland in *Orenoque* now called *Baraquan* (For aboue *Meta* it is not kowne by the name of *Orenoque*) which is called *Athule*, beyond which, ſhips of burden cānot paſſe by reaſon of a moſt forcible ouerfall, and Current of waters: but in the eddy al ſmaller veſſelles may be drawen euen to *Peru* itſelfe: But to ſpeake of more of theſe riuers without the deſcription were but tedious, and therefore I will

leaue

leaue the reſt to the diſcription. This riuer of *Orenoque* is nauigable for ſhips little leſſe then 1000. miles, & for leſſer veſſels neere 2000. By it (as aforeſaid) *Peru*, *Nueuo reyno*, & *Popaian*, may be inuaded: it alſo leadeth to that great Empire of *Inga*, and to the prouinces of *Amapaia*, and *Anebas* which abound in gold: his branches of *Coſnero*, *Manta*, *Caora* deſcend from the middle land and valley, which lieth betweene the eaſter prouince of *Peru* and *Guiana*; and it falles into the ſea betwne *Maragnon* and *Trinedado* in two degrees and a halfe, al which your Honors ſhal better perceiue in the general deſcription of *Guiana*, *Peru*, *Nueuo reyno*, the kingdom of *Popayan*, and *Roidas*, with the prouince of *Venſuello*, to the bay of *Vraba* behinde *Cartagena*, weſtward: and to *Amazones* ſouthward. While we lay at ancor on the coaſt of *Canuri*, and had taken knowledge of all the nations vpon the head and braunches of this riuer, and had founde out ſo many ſeuerall people, which were enemies to the *Epuremei*, and the newe Conquerers: I thought it time loſt to linger any longer in that place, eſpecially for that the fury of *Orenoque* beganne dailie to threaten vs with dangers in our returne, for no halfe day paſſed, but the riuer began to rage and ouerflow very fearefully, and the raines came downe in terrible ſhowers, and guſts in greate abundance: and withall, our men beganne to cry out for want of ſhift, for no man had place to beſtowe any other apparrell then that which he ware on his backe, and that was throughly waſht on his body for the moſt part ten times in one day: and we had nowe beene well neere a moneth, euery day paſſing to the weſtward, farther & farther from our ſhippes. Wee

therefore turned towards the east, and spent the rest of the time in discouering the riuer towards the sea, which we had not viewed, and which was most materiall. The next day following we left the mouth of *Caroli*, and arriued againe at the port of *Morequito* where we were before (for passing downe the streame we went without labour, and against the winde, little lesse then 100. miles a day:) Assoon as I came to ancor I sent away one for old *Topiawari*, with whom I much desired to haue further conference, & also to deal with him for some one of his country, to bring with vs into England, as well to learn the language, as to conferre withall by the way, (the time being now spent of any longer stay there) within three howres after my messenger came to him, he arriued also, and with him such a rabble of all sortes of people, and euery one loden with somwhat, as if it had bene a great market or faire in England: and our hungry companies clustered thicke and threefold among their baskets, euery one laying hand on what he liked. After he had rested a while in my tent, I shut out al but our selues, and my interpreter, and told him that I knewe that both the *Epuremei* and the Spaniards were enemies to him, his countrey and nations: that the one had conquered *Guiana* already, and the other sought to regaine the same from them both: And therefore I desired him to instruct me what hee could, both of the passage into the golden partes of *Guiana*, and to the ciuill townes and apparrelled people of *Inga*. Hee gaue me an answere to this effect: first that hee coulde not perceiue that I meant to go onwarde towardes the Citie of *Manoa*, for neither the time of the yeare

serued

ſerued, neyther could he perceiue any ſufficient numbers for ſuch an enterprize: and if I did I was ſure with all my company to be buried there, for the Emperour was of that ſtrength, as that many times ſo many men more were too few: beſides he gaue me this good counſell and aduiſed me to hold it in minde (as for himſelfe he knewe, he could not liue til my returne) that I ſhould not offer by any meanes hereafter to inuade the ſtrong partes of *Guiana* without the helpe of all thoſe nations which were alſo their enimies: for that it was impoſſible without thoſe, eyther to be conducted, to be victualled, or to haue ought caried with vs, our people not being able to indure the march in ſo greate heate, and trauell, vnleſſe the borderers gaue them helpe, to carry with them both their meate and furniture: For he remembred that in the plaines of *Macureguarai* 300. Spaniards were ouerthrowen, who were tired out, and had none of the borderers to their friendes, but meeting their enimies as they paſſed the frontier, were inuironed of all ſides, & the people ſetting the long dry graſſe on fire, ſmothered them ſo as they had no breth to feight, nor could diſcerne their enimies for the greate ſmoke. He told me farther that fower daies iourney from his towne was *Macureguarai*, and that thoſe were the next, & neareſt of the ſubiectes of *Inga*, and of the *Epuremei*, and the firſt towne of apparreled and rich people, and that all thoſe plates of Golde which were ſcatterred among the borderers and caried to other nations farre and neere, came from the ſaide *Macureguarai* and were there made, but that thoſe of the lande within were farre finer, and were

fashioned after the Image of men, beastes, birdes, and fishes. I asked him whether he thought that those companies that I had there with me, were sufficient to take that towne or no, he told me that he thought they were. I then asked him whether he woulde assist me with guides, and some companies of his people to ioyn with vs, he answered that he would go himself with all the borderers, if the riuers did remaine fordable, vpon this condition that I would leaue with him til my returne againe fiftly souldiers, which hee vndertooke to victuall: I answered that I had not aboue fiftie good men in all there, the rest were labourers and rowers, and that I had no prouision to leaue with them of powder, shot, apparrell, or ought else, and that without those things necessary for their defence, they should be in danger of the Spaniardes in my absence, who I knew would vse the same measure towardes mine, that I offered them at *Trinedado*: And although vpon the motion Captaine *Calfeide*, Captaine *Gremvile*, my nephewe *Iohn Gilbert* and diuers others were desirous to stay, yet I was resolued that they must needes haue perish, dfor *Berreo* expected daily a supply out of Spaine, and looked also howerly for his sonne to come downe from *Nueuo reyno de granada*, with many horse and foote, and had also in *Valentia* in the *Carueas*, 200. horse ready to march, and I coulde not haue spared aboue fortie, and had not any store at all of powder, leade, or match to haue left with them, nor any other prouision, eyther spade, pickeaxe, or ought else to haue fortified withall. When I had giuen him reason that I could not at this time leaue him such a cōpany,

he

he then desired me to forbeare him, and his countrey for that time, for he assured me that I shoulde bee no sooner three dayes from the coast, but those *Epuremei* woulde inuade him, and destroye all the remaine of his people and friendes, if he shoulde any way either guide vs, or assist vs against them. Hee further alledged that the Spaniards sought dis death, and as they had alreadie murtheaed his Nephew *Moriquito* Lord of that prouince, so they had him 17. daies in a chaine before he was king of the Countrey, and led him like a dogge from place to place, vntill he had paide 100. plates of Gold, and diuers chaines of splpen stones for his ransome: and now since he became owner of that prouince that they had many times laide waite to take him, and that they would be now more vehement when they shoulde vnderstand of his conference with the English, and because saide he, they would the better displant me if they cannot lay handes on mee, they haue gotten a Nephew of mine called *Eparacano* whome they haue christened *Don Iuan* and his sonne *Don pedro*, whome they haue also apparelled and armed, by whome they seeke to make a partie against mee, in mine own countrey: he also had taken to wife one *Louiana* of a strong familie, which are borderers and neighbours, and my selfe being now old and in the hands of death, am not able to trauell nor to shifte, as when I was of younger yeares: hee therefore praid vs to deferre it till the next yere, when he would vndertake to draw in all the borderers t to serue vs, and then also it would be more seasonable to trauel, for at this time of the yeare, we should not be pable to hasse

any riuer, the waters were and would be so growen ere our returne. Hee farther told me that I could not desire so much to inuade *Macureguari*, & the rest of *Guiana* but that the borderers would be more vehemēt thē I, for he yeelded for a chiefe cause that in the wars with the *Epuremei*, they were spoyled of their women, and that their wiues and daughters were taken from them, so as for their owne partes they desired nothing of the gold or treasure, for their labours, but only to recouer women from the *Epuremei*: for he farther complayned very sadly (as it had bene a matter of greate consequence) that whereas they were wont to haue ten or twelue wiues, they were now inforced to content themselues with three or fower, & that the Lords of the *Epuremei* had 50. or 100. And in truth they warr more for women then either for gold or dominiō. For the Lords of countries desire many children of their owne bodies, to increase their races and kindreds, for in those consist their greatest trust and strength. Diuers of his followers afterwards desired me to make hast againe, that they might sacke the *Epuremei*, and I asked them of what? they answered, of their women for vs, and their Golde for you: for the hope of many of those women they more desire the warre, then either for Golde, or for the recouery of their ancient territories. For what betwene the subiectes of *Inga*, & the Spaniards, those frontiers are growen thinne of people, and also greate numbers are fled to other nations farther off for feare of the spaniardes. After I receaued this answere of the olde man, wee fell into consideration, whether it had beene of better aduice to haue entred *Macureguari*, and

and to haue begunne a warre vpon *Inga* at this time, yea or no, if the time of the yeare, and all thinges elſe had ſorted. For mine owne part (as we were not able to march it for the riuers, neither had any ſuch ſtrēgth as was requiſite, and durſt not abide the comming of the winter, or to tarrie any longer from our ſhippes) I thought it were euill counſell to haue attempted it at that time, although the deſire of golde will aunſwere many obiections: But it would haue beene in mine opinion an vtter ouerthrow to the enterprize, if the ſame ſhould be hereafter by her Maieſty attempted: for then (whereas now they haue heard we were enemies to the Spaniards & were ſent by her Maieſty to relieue them) they would as good cheape haue ioyned with the Spaniards at our returne, as to haue yeelded vnto vs, when they had proued that we came both for one errant, and that both ſought but to ſacke and ſpoyle them, but as yet our deſire of gold, or our purpoſe of inuaſiō is not known vnto thoſe of the empire: & it is likely that if her Maieſty vndertake the enterprize, they will rather ſubmit themſelues to her obedience then to the Spaniardes, of whoſe cruelty both themſelues and the borderers haue already taſted: and therefore till I had knowen her maieſties pleaſure, I would rather haue loſt the ſacke of one or two townes (although they might haue been very profitable) then to haue defaced or indangered the future hope of ſo many millions, and the great good, & rich trade which England may bee poſſeſſed off thereby. I am aſſured nowe that they will all die euen to the laſt man againſt the Spanyardes in hope of our ſuccoure and returne: whereas otherwiſe if I had

either laid handes on the borderers, or ranſommed the Lordes as *Berreo* did, or inuaded the ſubiectes of *Inga*, I knowe all had beene loſt for hereafter. After that I had reſolued *Topiawari* Lorde of *Aromaia* that I could not at this time leaue with him the companies he deſired, and that I was contented to forbeare the enterprize againſt the *Epuremei* till the next yeare, he freely gaue me his onely ſonne to take with me into England, and hoped, that though he himſelfe had but a ſhort time to liue, and that by our meanes his ſonne ſhoulde be eſtabliſhed after his death: and I left with him one *Frauncis Sparrow*, a ſeruant of captaine *Gifford*, (who was deſirous to tary, and could deſcribe a countrey with his pen) and a boy of mine called *Hugh goodwin*, to learne the language. I after asked the manner how the *Epuremei* wrought thoſe plates of golde, and how they coulde melt it out of the ſtone; he told me that the moſt of the gold which they made in plates and images was not ſeuered from the ſtone, but that on the lake of *Manoa*, & in a multitude of other riuers they gathered it in graines of perfect gold and in peeces as big as ſmall ſtones, and that they put it to a part of copper, otherwiſe they could not worke it, and that they vſed a great earthen pott with holes round about it, and when they had mingled the gold & copper together, they faſtned canes to the holes, and ſo with the breath of men they increaſed the fire till the mettell ran, and then they caſt it into moulds of ſtone & clay, and ſo make thoſe plates and Images. I haue ſent your Honours, of two ſorts ſuch as I could by chance recouer, more to ſhew the maner of them, then for the value: For I did not in any ſort make my deſire of gold knowen,

knowen, becauſe I had neyther time, nor power to haue a greater quantity. I gaue among them manie more peeces of Golde then I receiued of the new money of 20. ſhillings with her Maieſties picture to weare, with promiſe that they woulde become her ſeruantes thenceforth.

I haue alſo ſent your Honor of the oare, whereof I know ſome is as rich as the earth yeeldeth anie, of which I know there is ſufficient, if nothing elſe were to be hoped for. But beſides that we were not able to tarry and ſearch the hils, ſo we had neither pioners, bars, ſledges, nor wedges of Iron, to break the ground without which there is no working in mines: but we ſaw all the hils with ſtones of the cullor of Gold and ſiluer, and we tried them to be no *Marqueſite*, and therefore ſuch as the Spanyardes call *El Madre de oro*, which is an vndoubted aſſurance of the generall abundance; and my ſelfe ſaw the outſide of many mines of the Sparre, which I know to be the ſame that all couet in this worlde, and of thoſe, more then I will ſpeake of.

Hauing learned what I could in *Canuri* and *Aromaia*, and receiued a faithfull promiſe of the principalleſt of thoſe prouinces to become ſeruantes to her Maieſtie, and to reſiſt the Spanyardes, if they made any attempt in our abſence, and that they woulde drawe in the nations about the lake of *Caſſipa*, and thoſe *Iwarawaqueri*, I then parted from olde *Topiawari*, and receiued his ſonne for a pledge betweene vs, and left with him two of ours as aforeſaid. To *Francis Sparrowe* I gaue inſtructions to trauel to *Marcuregnarai*, with ſuch marchandizes as I left with them,

thereby to learne the place, and if it were possible to go on, to the great Citie of *Manoa*: which being done, we weyed ancor, and coasted the riuer on *Guiana* side, because we came vp on the north side, by the launes of the *Saima* and *Wikiri*.

There came with vs from *Aromaia*, a *Cassique* called *Putijma*, that commaunded the prouince of *Warapana*, (which *Putijma* shewe the nyne Spanyardes vppon *Caroli* before spoken of,) who desired vs to rest at the porte of his Countrey, promising to bring vs to a mountaine adioyning to his towne that had stones of the cullor of Golde, which he performed: And after wee had rested there one night, I went my selfe in the morning with most of the Gentlemen of my company, ouer lande towardes the said mountaine, marching by a riuers side called *Mana*, leauing on the right hand a towne called *Tuteritona*, standing in the prouince of *Tarracoa*, of which *Wariaaremagoto* is principall: Beyond it lyeth another towne towardes the south, in the valley of *Amariocapana*, which beareth the name of the said valley, whose plaines stretch themselues some 60. miles in length, east and west, as fayre ground, and as beawtifull fieldes, as any man hath euer seene, with diuers copsies scatered heere and there by the riuers side, and all as full of deare, as any forrest or parke in England, and in euerie lake and riuer the like abundance of fish and fowle, of which *Irraparragota* is Lord.

From the riuer of *Mana*, we croft another riuer in the said beawtifull valley called *Oiana*, and rested our selues by a cleare lake, which lay in the middle of the said *Oiana*, and one of our guides kindling vs fire with

two

two ſtickes, we ſtayed a while to dry our ſhirts, which with the heat hong very weete & heauie on our ſholders. Afterwards we ſought the ford to paſſe ouer towardes the montain called *Iconuri*, where *Putijma* foretold vs of the mine. In this lake we ſaw one of the great fiſhes, as big as a wine pipe, which they call *Manáti*, and is moſt excellent and holſome meate. But after I perceiued, that to paſſe the ſaide riuer would require halfe a daies march more, I was not able my ſelfe to indure it, and therefore I ſent Captaine *Keymis* with ſix ſhotte to goe on, and gaue him order not to returne to the port of *Putijma*, which is called *Chiparepare*, but to take leaſure, and to march downe the ſaide valley, as farre as a riuer called *Cumaca*, where I promiſed to meete him againe, (*Putijma* himſelfe promiſing alſo to be his guide,) and as they marched, they left the townes of *Emparepana*, and *Capurepana*, on the right hande, and marched from *Putijmas* houſe, downe the ſaide valley of *Amariocapana*, & wee returning the ſame day to the riuers ſide, ſawe by the way many rockes, like vnto Gold oare, and on the left hand, a round mountaine which conſiſted of minerall ſtone.

From hence we rowed downe the ſtreame, coaſting the prouice of *Parino*; As for the braunches of riuers which I ouerpaſſe in this diſcourſe, thoſe ſhalbe better expreſſed in the diſcription, with the mountaines of *Aio*, *Ara* & the reſt, which are ſituate in the prouinces of *Parino* anp *Carricurrina*. When wee were come as farre downe as the land called *Ariacoa*, (where *Orenoque* deuideth it ſelfe into three great braunches, each of them beeing moſt goodly riuers, (I ſent away

Captaine *Henry Thin*, and Captaine *Greeneuile* with the Galley, the neareſt way, and tooke with me Captaine *Gifford*, Captaine *Calfielde*, *Edward porter*, and Captaine *Eynos* with mine owne barge, and the two wherries, and went downe that braunch of *Orenoque*, which is called *Cararoo pana*, which leadeth towardes *Emeria* the prouince of *Carapana*, and towards the eaſt ſea, as well to finde out Captaine *Keymis*, whome I had ſent ouer land, as alſo to acquaint my ſelfe with *Carapana*, who is one of the greateſt of all the Lords of the *Orenoqueponi*: and when he came to the riuer of *Cumaca* (to which *Putijma* promiſed to conduct Captaine *Keymis*) I left Captaine *Eynos* and Maſter *Porter* in the ſaide riuer to expect his comming, and the reſt of vs rowed downe the ſtreame towardes *Emeria*.

In this braunch called *Cararoopana* were alſo many goodly Ilandes, ſome of ſix miles long, ſome of tenne, and ſome of Twentie, when it grewe towards ſunne ſett, we entred a braunch of a riuer that fell into *Orenoque* called *Winicapora*: where I was enformed of the mountaine of Chriſtall, to which in trueth for the length of the way, and the euill ſeaſon of the yeare, I was not able to march, nor abide any longer vpon the iourney: wee ſaw it a farre off and it appeared like a white Church towr of an exceeding height: There falleth ouer it a mightie riuer which toucheth no part of the ſide of the mountaine, but ruſheth ouer the toppe of it, and falleth to the grounde with a terrible noyſe and clamor, as if 1000. greate belles were knockt one againſt another. I thinke there is not in the worlde ſo ſtraunge an ouerfall, nor ſo wonderfull

wonderfull to beholde: *Berreo* tolde mee that it hath Diamondes and other precious ſtones on it, and that they ſhined verie farre off: but what it hath I knowe not, neither durſt he or any of his men aſcende to the toppe of the ſaide mountaine, thoſe people adioyning beeing his enimies (as they were) and the way to it ſo impaſſible.

Vpon this riuer of *Winecapora* wee reſted a while, and from thence marched into the Countrey to a towne called after the name of the riuer, whereof the chiefe was one *Timitwara*, who alſo offered to conduct mee to the toppe of the ſaide mountaine called *Wacarima*: But when wee came in firſt to the houſe of the ſaide *Timitwara*, beeing vppon one of their feaſt daies, wee founde them all as drunke as beggers, and the pottes walking from one to another without reſt: wee that were wearie, and hotte with marching, were glad of the plentie, though a ſmall quantitie ſatisfied vs, their drinke beeing very ſtrong and headie, and ſo reſted our ſelues a while; after we had fedde, we dre we' our ſelues backe to our boates, vppon the riuer, and there came to vs all the Lordes of the Countrie, with all ſuch kinde of victuall as the place yeelded, and with their delicate wine of *Pinas*, and with abundance of hens, and other prouiſions, and of thoſe ſtones which wee call Spleene-ſtones. We vnderſtoode by the chiefetaines of *Winicapora*, that theire Lorde *Carapana* was departed from *Emeria* which was nowe in ſight, and that hee was fledde to *Cairamo*, adioyning to the mountaines of *Guiana*, ouer the valley called *Amariocapana*, beeing perſwaded by thoſe tenne Spanyardes which

lay at his houſe, that we woulde deſtroy him, and his country.

But after theſe *Caſſiqui* of *Winicapora* and *Saporatona* his followers perceiued our purpoſe, and ſawe that we came as enimies to the Spanyardes onely, and had not ſo much as harmed any of thoſe nations, no though wee founde them to bee of the Spanyardes owne ſeruantes, they aſſured vs that *Carapana* woulde bee as readie to ſerue vs, as any of the Lordes of the prouinces, which wee had paſſed; and that hee durſt doe no other till this daie but entertaine the Spanyardes, his countrey lying ſo directly in their way, and next of all other to any enterance that ſhould bee made in *Guiana* on that ſide.

And they farther aſſured vs, that it was not for feare of our comming that hee was remoued, but to bee acquited of the Spanyardes or any other that ſhoulde come heereafter. For the prouince of *Cairoma* is ſituate at the mountaine foote, which deuideth the plaines of *Guiana*, from the countries of the *Orenoqueponi*: by meanes whereof if any ſhoulde come in our abſence into his townes, hee woulde ſlippe ouer the mountaines into the plaines of *Guiana* amonge the *Epuremei*, where the Spanyardes durſt not followe him without greate force.

But in mine opinion, or rather I aſſure my ſelfe, that *Carapana* (beeing a notable wiſe and ſubtile fellowe, a man of one hundred yeares of age, and therefore of greate experience) is remooued, to looke on, and if he finde that we returne ſtrong, hee

hee will bee ours, if not, hee will excuſe his departure to the Spanyards, and ſay it was for feare of our comming.

We therefore thought it booteles to rowe ſo farre downe the ſtreame, or to ſeeke any farther for this olde fox: and therefore frome the riuer of *Waricapana* (which lieth at the entrance of *Emeria*,) we turned again, and left to the Eaſtward thoſe 4 riuers which fall from out the mountaines of *Emeria* into *Orenoque*, which are *waracapari*, *Coirama*, *Akaniri*, and *Iparoma*: belowe thoſe 4. are alſo theſe braunches and mouths of *Orenoque*, which fall into the Eaſt ſea, whereof the firſt is *Araturi*, the next *Amacura*, the third *Barima*, the fourth *Wana*, the fift *Morooca*, the ſixt *Paroma*, the laſt *Wijmi*: beyond them, there fall out of the land betweene *Orenoque* and *Amazones* 14. riuers which I forbeare to name, inhabited by the *Arwacas* and *Caniballs*.

It is nowe time to returne towardes the North, and we founde it a wearifome way backe, from the borders of *Emeria*, to recouer vp againe to the head of the riuer *Carerupana*, by which we deſcended, and where we parted from the galley, which I directed to take the next way to the Porte of *Toparimaca*, by which we entred firſt.

All the night it was ſtormie and darke, and full of thunder and great ſhowers, ſo as we were driuen to keepe cloſe by the bankes in our ſmall boats, being all heartely afraid both of the billowe, and terrible Current of the riuer. By the next morning wee recouered the mouth of the riuer of *Cumaca*, where wee left Captaine *Eynus* and Edward Porter to attend

the coming of Captaine *Keymis* ouer land: but when we entred the ſame, they had heard no newes of his arriuall, which bredde in vs a great doubt what might be become of him: I rowed vp a league or two farther into the riuer, ſhooting off peeces all the way, that he might know of our being there: And the next morning we heard them anſwere vs alſo with a peece: we tooke them abord vs, and tooke our leaue of *putyma* their guide, who of all others moſt lamented our departure, and offred to ſend his ſonne with vs into England, if we could haue ſtaide till he had ſent backe to his towne: but our hearts were cold to behold the great rage and increaſe of *Orenoque*, and therefore departed, and turned towarde the weſt, till we had recouered the parting of the 3 braunches aforeſaide, that we might put downe the ſtreame after the Galley.

The next day we landed on the Iland of *Aſſapana*, (which deuideth the riuer from that braunch by which we ſent down to *Emeria*) and there feaſted our ſelues with that beaſt which is called *Armadilla* preſented vnto vs before at *Winicapora*, and the day following we recouered the galley at ancor at the port of *Toparimaca*, and the ſame euening departed with verie fowle weather and terrible thunder, and ſhowers, for the winter was come on verie farre: the beſt was, we went no leſſe then 100. miles a daie, down the riuer: but by the way we entred, it was impoſſible to returne, for that the riuer of *Amana*, being in the bottome of the bay of *Guanipa*, cannot be ſailed backe by any meanes, both the brize and current of the ſea were ſo forcible, and therefore we followed a braunch of

Orenoque

Orenoque called *Capuri*, which entred into the sea eastward of our ships, to the end we might beare with them before the wind, and it was not without neede, for we had by that way as much to crosse of the maine sea, after wee came to the riuers mouth as betweene, *Grauelyn* & *Douer*, in such boats as your Ho: haue heard.

To speake of what past homeward were tedious, eyther to describe or name any of the riuers, Ilandes, or villages of the *Tiuitiuas* which dwell on trees, we will leaue all those to the general mappe: And to be short, when we were ariued at the sea side thē grew our greatest doubt, and the bittereſt of all our iourney forepassed, for I protest before God, that wee were in a most desperate estate: for the same night which we ancored in the mouth of the riuer of *Capuri*, where it falleth into the sea, there arose a mightie storme, and the riuers mouth was at least a league broad, so as we ran before night close vnder the land with our small boates, and brought the Galley as neere as we could, but she had as mucha doe to liue as could be, and there wanted little of her sinking, and all those in her: for mine own part I confesse, I was verie doubtful which way to take, eyther to goe ouer in the pestred Galley, there beeing but sixe foot water ouer the sands, for two leagues together, & that also in the channell, & she drew fiue: or to aduenture in so great a billow, and in so doubtfull weather, to crosse the seas in my barge. The longer we tarried the worse it was, and therefore I took Captaine *Gifford*, Captaine *Calfeild*, & my cosen *Greenevile* into my barge, and after it cleared vppe, about midnight wee put our selues to Gods keeping, and thrust out into the sea, leauing the Galley at ancor, who

durſt not aduenture but by day-light: And ſo beeing all very ſober, and melancholy, one faintly chearing another to ſhew courage, it pleaſed God that the next day about nine of the clocke, we diſcried the Iland of *Trinedado*, and ſtearing for the neareſt part of it, wee kept the ſhore till we came to *Curiapan*, where we found our ſhips a ancor, then which, there was neuer to vs a more ioyfull ſight.

Nowe that it hath pleaſed God to ſend vs ſafe to our ſhips, it is time to leaue *Guiana* to the Sume, whome they worſhip, and ſteare away towardes the north: I will therefore in a fewe wordes finiſh the diſcouery thereof. Of the ſeueral nations which we found vpon this diſcouery I will once againe make reperition, and how they are affected. At our firſt entrance into *Amana*, which is one of the outlets of *Orenoque*, we left on the right hand of vs in the bottome of the bay, lying directly againſt *Trinedado*, a nation of inhumaine *Canibals*, which inhabite the riuers of *Guanipa* and *Berbeeſe*; in the ſame bay there is alſo a third riuer which is called *Areo*, which riſeth on *Paria* ſide towardes *Cumana*, and that riuer is inhabited with the *Wikiri*, whoſe chiefe towne vpon the ſaid riuer is *Sayma*; In this bay there are no more riuers, but theſe three before rehearſed, and the fower braunches of *Amana*, all which in the winter thruſt ſo great abundance of water into the ſea, as the ſame is taken vp freſh, two or three leagues from the land. In the paſſages towardes *Guiana*, (that is, in all thoſe landes which the eight branches of *Orenoque* faſhion into Ilandes,) there are but one ſort of people called *Tiuitiuas*, but of two caſtes as they tearme them, the one called *Ciawani*,

the

the other *Waraweeti*, and thoſe warre one with the other.

On the hithermoſt part of *Orenoque*, as at *Toparimaca*, and *Winicapora*, thoſe are of a nation Called *Nepoios*, and are of the followers of *Carapana*, Lorde of *Emeria*. Betweene *Winicapora* and the port of *Morequito* which ſtandeth in *Aromaia*, and all thoſe in the valley of *Amariocapana* are called *Orenoqueponi*, and did obey *Morequito*, and are nowe followers of *Topiawari*. Vpon the riuer of *Caroli*, are the *Canuri*, which are gouerned by a woman (who is inheritrix of that prouince) who came farre off to ſee our nation, and asked mee diuers queſtions of her Maieſty, beeing much delighted with the diſcourſe of her Maieſties greatnes, and wondring at ſuch reports as we truely made of her highnes many vertues. And vpon the head of *Caroli*; and on the lake of *Caſſipa*, are the three ſtrong nations of the *Caſſipagotos*. Right ſouth into the land are the *Capurepani*, and *Emparepani*, and beyond thoſe adioyning to *Macureguarai*, (the firſt Citie of *Inga*,) are the *Iwarawakeri*: all theſe are profeſſed enemies to the Spanyardes, and to the rich *Epuremei* alſo. To the weſt of *Caroli* are diuers nations of *Canibals*, and of thoſe *Ewaipanoma* without heades. Directly weſt are the *Amapaias* and *Anebas*, which are alſo marueilous rich in gold. The reſt towardes *Peru* wee will omit. On the north of *Orenoque*, betweene it and the weſt Indies are the *Wikiri*, *Saymi*, and the reſt before ſpokeen of, all mortall enemies to the Spanyardes. On the ſouth ſide of the maine mouth of *Orenoque*, are the *Arwacas*: and beyonde them the *Caniballes*

and to the ſouth of them the *Amazones*.

To make mention of the ſeuerall beaſts, birds fiſhes, fruites, flowers, gummes, ſweete woodes, and of their ſeuerall religions and cuſtomes, would for the firſt require as many volumes as thoſe of *Geſnerus*, and for the reſt another bundle of *Decades*. The religion of the *Epuremei* is the ſame which the *Ingas*, Emperors of *Peru* vſed, which may be red in *Cieca*, and other Spaniſh ſtories, how they beleeue the immortalitie of the Soule, worſhip the Sunne, and burie with them aliue their beſt beloued wiues and treaſure, as they likewiſe doe in *Pegu* in the eaſt Indies, aud other places. The *Orenoqueponi* bury nor their wiues with them, but their Iewels, hoping to inioy them againe. The *Arwacas* dry the bones of their Lordes, and their wiues and friendes drinke them in powder. In the graues of the *Peruuians*, the Spanyards founde their greateſt abundance of treaſure: The like alſo is to be found among theſe people in euery prouince. They haue all many wiues, and the Lordes fiue fould to the common ſort: their wiues neuer eate with their huſbands, nor amõg the men, but ſerue their huſbands at meales, and afterwardes feede by thamſelues. Thoſe that are paſt their younger yeares, make all their breade and drink, and worke their cotten beddes, and doe all elſe of ſeruice and labour, for the men doe nothing but hunte, fiſh, play, and drinke, when they are out of the wars.

I will enter no further into diſcourſe of their maners, lawes and cuſtomes: and becauſe I haue not my ſelfe ſeen the cities of *Inga*, I cãnot auow on my credit what I haue hard, although it be very likely, that the Emperour *Inga* hath built and erected as magnificent palla-

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ces in *Guiana*, as his anceſtors did in *Peru*, which were for their riches and rarenes moſt marueilous & exceding al in *Europe*, and I think of the world, *China* excepted, which alſo the Spanyards (which I had) aſſured me, to be of truth, as alſo the nations of the borderers, who being but *Saluaios*, to thoſe of the Iund, do cauſe much treaſure to be buried with them for I was enformed of one of the *Caſſiqui* of the valley of *Amariocapana* which had buried with him a litle before our ariuall, a chayre of Goulde moſt curiouſly wrought, which was made either in *Macuraguarai* adioyning, or in *Manoa*: But if we ſhould haue grieued them in their religion at the firſt, before they had beene taught better, and haue digged vppe their graues, wee had loſt them all: and therefore I helde my firſt reſolution, that her maieſty ſhould eyther accept or refuſe the enterprice, ere any thing ſhould be done that might in any ſort hinder the ſame. And if *Peru* had ſo many heapes of Golde, whereof thoſe *Ingas* were Princes, and that they delighted ſomuch therein no doubte but this which now liueth and raigneth in *Manoa*, hath the ſame honour, and I am aſſured hath more abundance of Golde, within his territorie, then all *Peru*, and the weſt Indies.

For the reſt, which my ſelfe haue ſeene I will promiſe theſe things that follow and know to be true. Thoſe that are deſirous to diſcouer and to ſee many nations, may be ſatisfied within this riuer, which bringeth forth ſo many arms & branches leading to ſeuerall countries, & prouinces, aboue 2000. miles eaſt & weſt, and 800. miles ſouth and north, and of theſe, the moſt eyther rich in Gold, or in other marchandizes.

The common ſoldier ſhal here fight for gold, and pay himſelfe in ſteede of pence, with plates of halfe a foote brode, wheras he breaketh his bones in other warres for prouant and penury. Thoſe commanders and Chieftaines, that ſhoote at honour, and abundance, ſhal find there more rich and bewtifull cities, more temples adorned with golden Images, more ſepulchers filled with treaſure, then either *Cortez* found in *Mexico*, or *Pazzaro* in *Peru*: and the ſhining glorie of this conqueſt will eclipſe all thoſe ſo farre extended beames of the Spaniſh nation. There is no countrey which yeeldeth more pleaſure to the Inhabitants, either for theſe common delights of hunting, hawking, fiſhing, fowling, and the reſt, then *Guiana* doth. It hath ſo many plaines, cleare riuers, abundance of Pheſants, Partridges, Quailes, Rayles, Cranes, Herons, and all other fowle: Deare of all ſortes, Porkes, Hares, Lyons, Tygers, Leopards, and diuers other ſortes of beaſtes, eyther for chace, or foode. It hath a kinde of beaſt called *Cama*, or *Anta*, as bigge as an Engliſh beefe, and in greate plenty.

To ſpeake of the ſeuerall ſortes of euery kinde, I feare would be troubleſome to the Reader, and therefore I will omitte them, and conclude that both for health, good ayre, pleaſure, and riches, I am reſolued it cannot bee equalled by any region eyther in the eaſt or weſt. Moreouer the countrey is ſo healthfull, a 5100. perſons and more, which lay (without ſhift moſt ſluttiſhly, and were euery day almoſt melted with heat in rowing & marching, and ſuddenly wet againe with great ſhowers, and did eate of all ſorts of corrupt fruits, & mademeales of freſh fiſh without ſeaſoning,

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of *Tortugas*, of *Lagartas*, & of al ſorts good & bad, without either order or meaſure, and beſides lodged in the open aire euery night) we loſt not any one, nor had one ill diſpoſed to my knowledge, nor found any *Callentura*, or other of thoſe peſtilent diſeaſes which dwell in all hote regions, and ſo nere the Equinoctiall line.

Where there is ſtore of gold, it is in effect needles to remember other commodities for trade: but it hath towards the ſouth part of the riuer, great quantities of Braſil wood, and diuers berries, that die a moſt perfect crimſon and Carnation: And for painting, all *France*, *Italy*, or the eaſt Indies yeeld none ſuch: For the more the ſkin is waſhed, the fairer the cullour appeareth, and with which, euen thoſe browne & tawnie women ſpot themſelues, and cullour their cheekes. All places yeelde abundance of Cotten, of ſilke, of *Balſamum*, and of thoſe kindes moſt excellent, and neuer knowen in Europe: of all ſortes of Gummes, of Indian pepper: and what elſe the countries may afforde within the land wee knowe not, neyther had we time to abide the triall, and ſearch. The ſoile beſides is ſo excellent and ſo full of riuers, as it will carrie ſugar, ginger, and all thoſe other commodities, which the weſt Indies hath.

The nauigatiou is ſhort, for it may bee ſayled with an ordinarie wind in ſix weekes, and in the like time backe againe, and by the way neyther lee ſhore, Enimies coaſt, rockes, nor ſandes, all which in the voiages to the weſt indies, and all other places, wee are ſubiect vnto, as the channell of *Bahama*, comming from the Weſt Indies, can not be paſſed in the Winter, and when it is at the beſt, it is a

perillous and a feareſull place. The reſt of the Indies for calmes, and diſeaſes verie troubleſome, and the *Bermudas* a helliſh ſea for thunder, lightning, and ſtormes.

This verie yeare there were ſeuenteen ſayle of Spaniſh ſhipps loſt in the channell of *Bahama*, and the great *Phillip* like to haue ſunke at the *Bermudas* was put back to Saint *Iuan de puerto rico*. And ſo it falleth out in that Nauigation euery yeare for the moſt part, which in this voyage are not to be feared: for the time of the yere to leaue *England*, is beſt in Iuly, and the Summer in *Guiana* is in October, Nouember, December, Ianuarie, Februarie, and March, and then the ſhips may depart thence in Aprill, and ſo returne againe into England in Iune, ſo as they ſhall neuer be ſubiect to Winter weather, eyther comming, going, or ſtaying there, which for my part, I take to be one of the greateſt comforts and incouragements that can be thought on, hauing (as I haue done) taſted in this voyage by the weſt Indies ſo many Calmes, ſo much heate, ſuch outragious guſtes, fowle weather, and contrarie windes.

To conclude, *Guiana* is a Countrey that hath yet her Maydenhead, neuer ſackt, turned, nor wrought, the face of the earth hath not beene torne, nor the vertue and ſalt of the ſoyle ſpent by manurance, the graues haue not beene opened for golde, the mines not broken with ſledges, nor their Images puld down out of their temples. It hath neuer been entred by any armie of ſtrength, and neuer conquered or poſſeſſed by anie Chriſtian Prince. It is beſides ſo defenſible, that if two fortes be builded in one of the Prouinces which I

haue

haue ſeen, the flood ſetteth in ſo neere the banke, where the channell alſo lyeth, that no ſhippe can paſſe vp, but within a Pikes length of the Artillerie, firſt of the one, and afterwardes of the other: Which two Fortes wilbe a ſufficient Guard both to the *Empire* of *Inga*, and to an hundred other ſeuerall kingdomes, lying within the ſaid Riuer, euen to the citie of *Quito in Peru*.

There is therefore great difference betwene the eaſines of the conqueſt of *Guiana*, & the defence of it being conquered, and the Weſt or Eaſt Indies: *Guiana* hath but one entraunce by the ſea (if it haue that) for any veſſels of burden, ſo as whoſoeuer ſhall firſt poſſeſſe it, it ſhall bee founde vnacceſſable for anie Enimie, except he come in Wherries, Barges, or *Canoas*, or els in flatte bottomed boats, and if he do offer to enter it in that manner, the woods are ſo thicke 200 miles together vppon the riuers of ſuch entraunce, as a mouſe cannot ſitte in a boate vnhit from the banke. By land it is more impoſſible to approch, for it hath the ſtrongeſt ſituation of anie region vnder the Sunne, and is ſo enuironed with impaſſable mountaynes on euerie ſide, as it is impoſſible to victuall anye companie in the paſſage, which hath beene well proued by the Spaniſh nation, who ſince the conqueſt of *Peru* haue neuer left fiue yeres free from attempting this Empire, or diſcouering ſome way into it, and yet of 23 ſeuerall gentlemen, knights, and noble men, there was neuer anie that knewe which way to leade an armie by land, or to conduct ſhippes by ſea, any thing neere the ſaid countrie. *Oreliano*, of which the riuer

of *Amazones* taketh name was the firſt, and *Don Anthonio de Berreo* (whome we diſplanted) the laſt: and I doubt much, whether hee himſelfe or any of his, yet knowe the beſt waie into the ſaide Empyre. It can therefore hardly be regained, if any ſtrength bee formerly ſet downe, but in one or two places, and but two or three crumſters or galleys buylt, and furniſhed vpon the riuer within: The weſt Indies hath many portes, watring places, and landings, and nearer then 300. miles to *Guiana*, no mã can harbor a ſhip, except he know one onely place, which is not learned in haſt, and which I will vndertake there is not any one of my companies that knoweth, whoſoeuer hearkened moſt after it.

Beſides by keeping one good fort, or building one towne of ſtrength, the whole Empyre is guarded, and whatſoeuer companies ſhalbe afterwardes planted within the land, although in twenty ſeuerall prouinces, thoſe ſhall bee able all to reunite themſelues vpon any occaſion eyther by the way of one riuer, or bee able to march by land without eyther wood, bog, or mountaine: whereas in the weſt Indies there are fewe townes, or prouinces that can ſuccour or relieue one the other, eyther by land or ſea: By lande the countries are eyther deſart, mounteynous, or ſtrong Enemies: By ſea, if any man inuade to the Eaſtward, thoſe to the weſt cannot in many months turne againſt the brize and eaſterwind, beſides the Spanyardes are therein ſo diſperſed, as they are no where ſtrong, but in *Nueua Hiſpania* onely: the ſharpe mountaines, the thornes, & poiſoned prickels, the ſandy & deepe waies in the vallies, the ſmothering heate and ayre, and want

of

of water in other places, are their onely and beſt defence, which (becauſe thoſe nations that inuade them are not victualled or prouided to ſtay, neyther haue any place to friende adioyning) doe ſerue them in ſteede of good armes and great multitudes.

The weſt Indies were firſt offered her Maieſties Grandfather by *Columbus* a ſtraunger, in whome there might be doubt of deceipt, and beſides it was then thought incredible that there were ſuch and ſo many lands & regions neuer written of before. This Empire is made knowen to her Maieſty by her own vaſſal, and by him that oweth to her more duety then an ordinary ſubiect, ſo that it ſhall ill ſort with the many graces and benefits which I haue receiued to abuſe her highneſſe, either with fables or imaginations. The countrey is already diſcouered, many nations won to her Maieſties loue & obedience, & thoſe Spaniards which haue lateſt and longeſt labored about the conqueſt, beaten out, diſcouraged and diſgraced, which among theſe nations were thought inuincible. Her Maieſty may in this enterprize employ all thoſe ſouldiers and gentlemen that are yonger brethren, and all captaines and Cheiftaines that want employment, and the charge wilbe onely the firſt ſetting out in victualling and arming them: for after the firſt or ſecond yeare I doubt not but to ſee in London a Contratation houſe of more receipt for *Guiana*, then there is now in ciuill for the Weſt indies.

And I am reſolued that if there were but a ſmal army a foote in *Guiana*, marching towards *Manoa* the chiefe City of Inga, he would yeeld to her Maieſty by compo

ſition ſo many hundred thouſand pounds yearely, as ſhould bothdefende all enemies abroad, and defray all expences at home, and that he woulde beſides pay a garriſon of 3000. or 4000. ſoldiers very royally to defend him againſt other nations: For he cannot but know, how his predeceſſors, yea how his owne great vncles *Guaſcar* and *Atibalipa* ſonnes to *Guanacapa* Emperor of *Peru*, were (while they contended for the Empyre) beaten out by the Spanyardes, and that both of late yeares, and euer ſince the ſaid conqueſt, the Spanyardes haue ſought the paſſages and entry of his countrey: and of their cruelties vſed to the borderers he cannot be ignorant. In which reſpects no doubt but he wil be brought to tribute with great gladnes, if not, hee hath neyther ſhotte nor Iron weapon in all his Empyre, and therefore may eaſely be conquered.

And I farther remember that *Berreo* confeſſed to me and others (which I proteſt before the Maieſty of God to be true) that there was found among propheties in *Peru* (at ſuch time as the Empyre was reduced to the Spaniſh obedience) in their chiefeſt temples, amongſt diuers others which foreſhewed the loſſe of the ſaid Empyre, that from *Inglatierra* thoſe *Ingas* ſhoulde be againe in time to come reſtored, and deliuered from the ſeruitude of the ſaid Conquerors. And I hope, as wee with theſe fewe handes haue diſplanted the firſt garriſon, and driuen them out of the ſaid countrey, ſo her Maieſty will giue order for the reſt, and eyther defend it, and hold it as tributary, or conquere and keepe it as Empreſſe of the ſame. For whatſoeuer Prince ſhall poſſeſſe it, ſhall bee greateſt, and if the king of Spayne

Spayne enioy it, he will become vnreſiſtable. Her Maieſty heereby ſhall confirme and ſtrengthen the opinions of al nations, as touching her great and princely actons. And where the ſouth border of *Guiana* reacheth to the Dominion and Empire of the *Amazones*, thoſe women ſhall heereby heare the name of a virgin, which is not onely able to defend her owne territories and her neighbors, but alſo to inuade and conquere ſo great Empyres and ſo farre remoued.

To ſpeake more at this time, I feare would be but troubleſome: I truſt in God, this being true, will ſuffice, and that he which is king of all kings and Lord of Lords, will put it into her hart which is Lady of Ladies to poſſeſſe it, if not, I wil iudge thoſe men worthy to be kings therof, that by her grace and leaue will vndertake it of themſelues.

An Abſtract taken

out of certaine Spanyardes Letters concerning Guiana and the Countries lying vpon the great riuer Orenoque : *with* certaine reportes alſo touching *the ſame.*

An aduertiſement to the Reader.

THoſe letters out of which the abſtractes following are taken, were ſurpriſed at ſea as they were paſſing for Spayne in the yeare 1594. by Captaine *George Popham* : who the next yeare, and the ſame that Sir *Walter Ralegh* diſcouered *Guiana*, as he was in a voyage for the weſt Indies, learned alſo the reportes annexed. All which, at his returne, beeing two monthes after Sir *Walter*, as alſo ſo long after the writing of the former diſcourſe, hearing alſo of his diſcouerie: hee made knowne and deliuered to ſome of her maieſties moſt honorable priuie Councell and others

others. The which seeing they confirme in some parte the substance, I meane, the riches of that Countrey: it hath beene thought fitte that they shoulde be thereunto adioyned. Wherein the Reader is to be aduertised, that although the Spanyardes seeme to glorie much of their formall possession taken before *Morequito* the Lord of *Aromaya*, and others there aboutes, which throughly vnderstood them not at that time, whatsoeuer the Spanyardes otherwise pretend: Yet, according to the former discourse, and as also it is related by *Caymoraco*, the sonne of *Topiawary* now chiefe Lord of the saide *Aromaya*, who was brought into England by Sir *Walter Ralegh*, and was present at the same possession and discouerie of the Spayardes mentioned in these letters; it appeareth that after they were gone out of their Countrey, the Indians then hauing farther consideration of the matter, and more then coniecture of their intent, hauing knowne and hearde of their former cruelties vppon their borderers and others of the Indians elsewhere: At their next comming, there beeing tenne of them sent and imployed for a farther discouery, they were prouided to receiue and entertaine them in an other manner of sort then they had done before; that is to say, they slewe them and buried them in the Countrey, so much sought. They gaue them by that meanes a full and complete possession the which before they had but begunne. And so they are minded to doe, to as many Spanyardes as come after. Other possession they haue had none since. Neyther doe the Indians meane as

they proteſt, to giue them any other. One other thing to bee remembred is that in theſe letters the Spanyards ſeeme to call *Guiana* and other Countries neere it, bordering vppon the riuer of *Orenoque*, by the name of *Nueuo Dorado*, becauſe of the greate plentie of Golde there, in moſt places to be founde. Alluding alſo to the name of *El Dorado* which was giuen by *Martines* to the greate Citie of *Manoa*, as is in the former treatiſe ſpecified. This is all I thought good to aduertiſe. As for ſome other matters, I leaue them to the conſideration and iudgement of the indifferent reader.

W: R

George Popham. 1594.

Allonſo *his Letter from the* Gran Canaria *to his brother being commaunder of* S. Lucas, *concerning* El Dorado.

THere haue beene certain letters receiued heere of late, of a land newly diſcouered called *Nueuo Dorado*, from the ſonnes of certaine Inhabitantes of this Citie, who were in the diſcouerie: they write of wonderful riches to be founde in the ſaid *Dorado*, and that golde there is in great abundauce, the courſe to fall with it is 50. leagues to the windward to the *Marguarita*.

Allonſos *letter from thence to certaine* Marchantes *of S.* Lucas *concerning the* Dorado.

SIrs, we haue no newes worth the writing, ſauing of a diſcouery lately made by the ſpanyardes in a newe land called *Nueuo Dorado*, and is two daies ſailing to the windward of the *Marguarita*, there is golde in that abundance, as the like hath not beene hard of. We haue it for certaine in letters Written from thence by ſome that were in the diſcouery, vnto their parentes heere in this City. I purpoſe (God willing) to beſtow ten or twelue daies in ſearch of the ſaid *Dorado*, as I paſſe in voyag towards *Carthagena*, hoping there to make ſome good ſale of our commodities. I haue ſent you therewith part of the information of the ſaid diſcouery, that was ſent to his Maieſty.

Part of the Coppy that was ſent to his Maieſty of the diſcouery of Nueuo Dorado.

IN the riuer of *Pato* otherwiſe called *Orenoque*, in the principall part thereof called *Wariſmero*, the 23. of April 1593. *Domingo de vera* Maſter of the Campe and ⁀nerall for *Anth.*

de Berreo Gouernour and Captaine generall for our Lord the King, betwixt the riuers of *Páto* and *Papamene* alias *Orenoque*, and *Marannon*, and of the Iland of *Trinidado*, in presence of me *Rodrigo de Caranca* registar for the sea, commaunded all the soldiers to be drawne together and put in order of battaile, the Captaines and soldiers, and Master of the Campe standing in the middest of them, saide vnto them: Sirs, Soldiers, and Captaines, you vnderstand long since that our Generall *Anth. de Berreo*, with the trauell of 11 yeares, and expence of more then 100000. pesoes of Gold, discouered the royall prouinces of *Guiana* and *Dorado*: Of the which he tooke possession to gouern the same, but through want of his peoples health, and necessary munition, he issued out at the Iland *Maguaruta*, and from thence peopled the *Trinedado*. But now they haue sent me to learne out and discouer the waies most easily to enter, & to people the said prouinces, and where the Campes and Armies may best enter the same. By reason whereof I intend so to do in the name of his Maiesty, and the said gouernour *Antho: de Berreo*, and in token thereof I require you *Fran. Carillo*, that you aide me to aduance this crosse that lieth heere on the ground, which they set on end towardes the east, and the said Master of the Campe, the Captains and soldiers kneeled down and did due reuerence vnto the said crosse, and thereupon the Master of the Campe tooke a bole of water and dranke it of, and tooke more and threw abroad on the ground: he also drew out his sword and cut the grasse of the ground, and the boughs of the trees saying, I take his possession in the name of the king *Don Phillip* our master, and of his Gouernour *Antho. de Berreo*: and because some make question of this possession, to them I answere that in these our actiõs was present the *Casique* or principal *Don Antho.* otherwise called *Morequito*, whose land this was, who yeelded consent to the said possession, was glad ther of, and gaue his obedience to our Lord the King, & in his name to the said gouernor *Antho: de Berreo*. And the said Master of the Campe kneeled downe being in his liberty, and all the

Captaines

Captaines and ſoldiers ſaid that the poſſeſſion was well taken, & that they would defend it with their liues, vpon whoſoeuer would ſay the contrary. And the ſaid Maſter of the Campe hauing his ſword drawne in his hand ſaid vnto me, regiſter that art heere preſent, giue me an inſtrument or teſtimoniall to confirme me in this poſſeſſion, which I haue taken of this land, for the gouernor *Antho. de Berreo*, and if it be needfull I will take it a newe. And I requite you all that are preſent to witnes the ſame, and do further declare that I will goe on, taking the poſſeſſion of all theſe landes whereſoeuer I ſhall enter. Signed thus.

Domingo de vera *and vndernetah, Before me* Rodrigo de Caranca, *Regiſter of the Army.*

AND in proſecution of the ſaid poſſeſſion, and diſcouerie of the way & prouinces, the 27. of April of the ſaid yeare, the Maſter of the Campe entred by little and little with all the Campe and men of warre, more then two leagues into the Inland, and came to a towne of a principall, and confering with him did let him vnderſtand by meanes of *Antho : Biſame* the Interpretor that his Maieſty & *Antho: de Berreo* had ſent him to take the ſaid poſſeſſion. And the ſaid fryer *Francis Carillo* by the Interpretor, deliuered him certain thinges of our holy Catholique faith, to all which he anſwered, that they vnderſtod him well and would become Chriſtians, and that with a very good wil they ſhould aduance the croſſe, in what part or place of the towne it pleaſed them, for he was for the gouernor *Antho : de Berreo*, who was his Maſter. Thereupon the ſaid maſter of the Campe tooke a great croſſe, and ſet it on ende towarde the eaſt, and requeſted the whole Campe to witneſſe it and *Domingo de vera* firmed it thus.

It is well and firmely done, and vnderneath, before me Rodrigo Caranca, *Regiſter of the Army.*

THE first of May they prosecuted the said possession and dicouery to the towne of *Carapana*. From thence the said Master of the Campe passed to the towne of *Toroco* whose principall is called *Topiawary* beeing fiue leagues farther within the land then the first nation, & wel inhabited. And to this principall by meane of the interpretor they gaue to vnderstand that his Maiesty and the said *Corrigidor* commauded them to take the profession of that land, & that they should yeeld their obedience to his Maiesty, and to his Corrigidor, and to the Master of the Campe in his name, and that in token thereof he would place a crosse in the middle of his towne. Wherunto the said *Cassique* answered they should aduance it with a very good will, and that he remained in the obediene of our Lorde the King, and of the said Gouernour *Antho : de Berreo* whose vassall he would be.

The fourth of May we came to a prouince aboue fiue leagues thence, of all sides inhabited with much people, the principall of this people came and mette vs in peaceable manner : and hee is called *Renato*, he brought vs to a very large house where he entertained vs wel, & gaue vs much Gold, & the interpreter asking him from whence that gold was, he answered from a prouince not passing a daies iourney off, where there are so many Indians as would shadow the sunne, and so much gold as all yonder plaine will not containe it. In which Countrey (when they enter into the *Borachera*) they take of the said Gold in dust and anoynt themselues all ouer therewith to make the brauer shewe, and to the end the Gold may couer them, they annoynt their bodies with stamped herbs of a glewenous substance: and they haue warre with those Indians. They promised vs that if we would goe vnto them they woulde ayd vs, but they were such infinite number as no doubt they woulde, kill vs. And being asked how they gat the same Gold, they told vs they went to a certaine downe or playne and pulled or digged vp the grasse by the roote, which done, they tooke of the earth,

earth, puting it in greate buckets which they caried to washat the riuer, & that which came in powder they kept for their *Boracheras* & that which was in peeces, they wrought into Eagles.

The eight of May we went from thence, and marched about fiue leagues: at the foote of a hill we founde a principall called *Arataco*, with 3000 Indians, men & women all in peace and with much victual, as hens & veniſon in great abundance, and many ſortes of wine. Hee intreated vs to goe to his houſe and to reſt that night in his towne being of 500. houſes. The interpretor asked whence he had thoſe hens, he ſaid they were brought from a mountaine not paſſing a quarter of a league thence, where were many Indians, yea ſo many as graſſe on the ground, and that theſe men had the pointes of their ſhoulders higher then the Crownes of their heades, and had ſo many hens as was wonderfull, and if we would haue any we ſhould ſend them Iewes harpes for they woulde giue for euery one two hens, we tooke an Indian and gaue him 500. harpes, the hens were ſo many that he brought vs, as were not to be numbred: Wee ſaid we woulde goe thither, they told vs they were now in their *Borrachera* and would kill vs, we asked the Indian, that brought the hens if it were true, he ſaid it was moſt true. We asked him how they made their *Borrachera*, he ſaide they had many Eagles of Gold hanging on their breaſts & pearls in their eares, and that they daunced being al couered with Gold. The India ſaid vnto vs, if we would ſee thē, we ſhould giue him ſome hatchets, and he would bring vs of thoſe Eagles. The Maſter of the Camp gaue him one hatchet (he would giue him no more becauſe they ſhould not vnderſtand we went to ſeeke gold) he brought vs an Eagle which waȳed 27 pounds of good Gold. The Maſter of the Campe tooke it, and ſhewed to the ſoldiers, and then threwe it from him, making ſhew not to regard it. About midnight came an Indian and ſaid vnto him, giue me a pickeaxe and I will tell thee what the Indians with the high ſhoulders meane to doe, the Interpretor told the Maſter of the Campe who commanded one to be giuen him, he

then tolde vs those Indians were comming to kill vs from our marchandize. Herevpon the master of the Campe caused his company to be set in order, and beganne to march. The 11. day of May, we went about 7 leagues from thence to a prouince, where we found a great company of Indians apparrelled, they told vs that if we came to fight, they woulde fill vp those plaines with Indians to fight with vs, but if we came in peace, we should enter and be well entertained of them, because they had a great desire to see Christians, and there they told vs of all the riches that was. I doe not heere set it downe, because there is no place for it, but it shall appeare by the information that goes to his Maiesty, for if it should heere be set downe, fower leaues of paper would not containe it.

The letter of George Burien Britton, *from the saide* Canaries *vnto his cosen a french man, dwelling in* S. Lucas, *concerning the* Dorado.

SIR, and my very good cosen, there came of late certaine letters from a new discouered country not farre from *Trinedado*, which they writ, hath Gold in great abundance, the newes seemeth to be very certaine, because it passeth for good amongst the best of this City. Part of the information of the discouery that went to his Maiesty, goeth inclosed in *Alonsos* letters, it is a thing worth the seeing.

The report of Domingo Martines *of* Iamica, *concerning the* Dorado.

HE saith that in 93 being at *Carthagena* there was a general report of a late discouery called *Nueuo Dorado*, and that a little before him comming thither, there came a *Frigot* from the said *Dorado*, bringing in it the portrature of a Giant all of Gold, of weight 47 kintals, which the Indians there helde for their Idoll. But nowe admitting of Christianitie

nity and obedience to the King of Spayne, sent their said Idoll vnto him in token they were become Christians, and helde him for their King. The company comming in the saide *Frigott* reported Golde to be there in most abundaunce, Diamondes of inestimable value, with great store of pearle.

The report of a french man called Bountillier *of* Sherbrouke *concerning the* Trinedado *and the* Dorado.

HE saith that being at *Trinedado* in 91. he had of an Indian there a peece of Golde of a quarter of a pounde in exchaunge of a knife, the said Indian told him he had it at the head of that riuer which cõmeth to *Paracoa* in the *Trinedado*, but said within the riuer of *Orenoque*, it was in great abũdance. Also in 93 being taken by the Spanyardes; and brought prisoner into the Iland of *Madera*(the place for his prison) there came in this meane time a barke of 40 tunnes from a newe discouery, with two millions of Gold, the company whereof reported Gold in that place to be in great abundances, & called it the *Nueuo Dorado*. This french man passed from Spayne in the barke, and hauing a cabben nere a gentleman, one of the discouerers that came from that place in the said barke, had diuers times conference with him, and amongst other thinges of the great abundance of Golde in the said *Dorado* being as they said within the riuer of *Orenoque*.

Reportes of Certaine Marchantes of Rio de Hacha, *concerning the* Nueuo Dorado.

THey said(aduancing the kings great treasure in the *Indies*) that *Nueuo Reyno* yeelded very many Gold mines, & wonderful rich, but latly was discouered a certain prouince so richin

Gold as the report thereof may seeme incredible, it is there in such abundance, and is called the *Nueuo Dorado*: *Anthonio de Berreo* made the said discouery.

The Report of a Spanyard, Captaine with Berreo *in the discouerie of* Nueuo Dorado.

THat the information sent to the K. was in euery point truely said, that the riuer *Orenoque* hath seauen mouths, or out lets into the sea, called *Las Sciete bocas de drago*, that the said riuer runneth farre into the land, in many places very broad, and that *Antho: de Berreo* lay at *Trinedado* making head to goe to conquere and people the said *Dorado*.